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DE BOW'S REVIEW

INDUSTRIAL RESOURCES

ETC.



EDITED BY J. D. B. DE BOW.

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DE BOW'S REVIEW.

AUGUST, 1856.

EFFECTS OF THE INCREASE OF GOLD THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.*

The accumulated amount of gold and silver throughout the whole world at the beginning of the nineteenth century has been estimated at two thousand five hundred millions of dollars, (\$2,500,000,000.) The annual importation into Europe, whither the main stream of the precious metals flowed, was at the same period about forty millions of dollars, (\$40,000,000,) according to Humboldt; between 1800 and 1847, the gross addition to the store of Europe had amounted to nearly fifteen hundred millions of dollars (\$1,500,000,000,) but the effective addition, after making the due allowance for the wear and tear of the whole mass, for marine and other losses, for jewelry, and the multifarious purposes of luxury, is supposed not to have exceeded seven hundred millions, (\$700,000,000.)† The total annual productions of the precious metals in the year preceeding the discovery of the mines of California has been rated at sixty-five millions, (\$65,000,000,) an amount which was surpassed by the second year's production of gold in California alone. The estimated returns from California and Australia, since the opening

1. * Remarks on the Production of the Precious Metals, and on the Demonetization of Gold in several countries of Europe. By Monsieur Léon Faucher, translated by Thomson Hankey, jr. Second edition, revised. London, Smith, Elder & Co. 65, Cornhill, 1853, 8vo.

2. Remarks on the Precious Metals and on the Depreciation of Gold. By Monsieur Michel Chevalier, member of the Institute of France, &c., &c., translated by D. Forbes Campbell, Esq. London, Smith, Elder & Co. 65 Cornhill, 1853, 8vo.

3. Tégoborski. Epai sur les Conséquences Eventuelles de la Découverte des Gites Aurifères en Californie et en Australie. Par M. L. De Tégoborski, Membre du Conseil de l'Empire de Russie. Paris. Jules Renouard et Cie. Libraires Editeurs. Rue de Tournon, 6, 1853, 8vo.

† Tégoborski, p. 67.

of their exuberant mines, have varied excessively, as might have been expected from the absence of anything like complete ascertained data; but it is no unreasonable compromise between divergent calculations to suppose that the entire aggregate production of 1852 in gold and silver did not sink below three hundred millions of dollars;* and that the average prospective supply will attain to the same sum in future years and may possibly reach as high as six hundred millions of dollars, which would render the annual production more than double the whole amount of gold and silver in the world at the time when America was discovered.†

We do not pretend to endorse the accuracy of these estimates. "Nothing is more difficult in matters relating to money than to present statistics which may be considered as an approximation to truth."‡ During the years which have elapsed since the first announcement of the discovery of gold in California, we have assiduously collected and carefully collated all the information to be obtained from sources apparently reliable; and our own estimates form in most respects a medium between the sanguine anticipations of M. Tégoborski and the very reduced calculations of M. Faucher. Accuracy in questions of this sort, however desirable it may be, is not to be obtained. The circulation of the precious metals is as imperceptible in its whole volume as its movement is continuous. We may count the regular pulsations, but we cannot determine the absolute quantity of the circulating medium which passes at each beat, or which is thrown into the system without any sensible manifestation. For our present purposes accuracy of statistics is by no means essential. We do not propose to determine, like M. Tégoborski, what will be the exact rate of duplication of the precious metals, or how many years will be required for each successive multiplication of their mass; nor like M. Chevalier, to detect the scale of depreciation through which gold has been sinking, not merely with regard to silver, but also with respect to other commodities; nor with M. Faucher, to discuss the wisdom of the policy adopted by some of the States of Europe in 1850-1 to divest gold of its monetary character. Each of these inquiries requires an unattainable degree of accuracy before any reliable conclusion can be drawn. But we design only to investigate the general effects to be anticipated from the present and prospective increase of the precious

* Tégoborski, p. 87, 72. Wyld, *Notes on the Distribution of Gold*, p. 22. Faucher, p. 85.

† \$580,000,000 is the estimate of M. Tégoborski, p. 95, and he assigns only 30,000,000 francs to the joint prospective production of Africa, Borneo, Java, Malacca, Sumatra, and other countries.

‡ Faucher § ii, p. 22.

metals, which has hitherto been due almost entirely to the augmentation of gold through the out-pouring of the treasures of California and Australia. It is a sufficient basis for our inquiries to know that "gold has never previously flowed from such numerous channels, and from such abundant sources,"* as it has done during the last eight years. This admission will be readily and universally made, and being conceded, it is only a question of a few years more or less which can modify the consequences likely to result from the rapid augmentation of the precious metals. If M. Tégoborski's estimates are correct, and we are disposed to regard them as approximatively so, the aggregate of gold and silver would be doubled in Europe in the course of thirteen years, and throughout the world in twenty-four years, after having deducted the requisite proportion for losses, waste, and consumption in the arts of luxury.† If those estimates are incorrect the periods may be contracted to ten and twenty years respectively, or extended to twenty and forty, or they may assume any inferior, superior, or intermediate ratio, but the ultimate results of the duplication will only be slightly modified by the greater brevity or the greater duration of the term of duplication. It is indeed true that the political, social, and moral effects of the increase of the precious metals would take place in a more hazardous and aggravated form if they were compressed into the third portion of a single generation, than if they were evenly distributed over a whole life-time, or between two successive generations. The increase or diminution of the populations of civilized countries would also materially affect the development of the phenomena, but the expansion or contraction of the census of a nation is more forcibly influenced by other circumstances than time. It may be necessary in discussing a subject as complex as the present to keep these and many other similar points steadily in view; but they can only modify and can scarcely prevent the natural evolution of the consequences to be anticipated from the sudden influx of such copious torrents of wealth into the arteries and veins and circulating system of the world. They may expedite or retard, they may alleviate or inflame the topical symptoms of the gold fever; but sooner or later the financial, commercial, and social tendencies inspired by the accretions principally due to California and Australia, will produce their natural fruits; and the exaggerated or alternated estimates of different authors can scarcely produce any serious confusion in investigations of this character, because the events apprehended will only anticipate or postpone the period for the realization of our expectations, according as the larger or the smaller calculations prove the more just.

* Faucher § v, p. 81.

† Tégoborski, pp. 87-88.

We are very willing to accept any adequate excuse for escaping from the intricate and perplexed labyrinths of financial calculations and monetary statistics. No patience, no ingenuity, no compromises, and no net work of compensations can introduce harmony into the midst of the everlasting discords which hover over all such questions, or extricate any thing like fixed and consistent data from the chaos of conflicting opinions. Every step must be taken through the deep waters and noisy waves of polemics, and the conclusions ultimately deduced are steeped in the spray and corroded by the brine through which we have been compelled to pass before arriving at even the semblance of solid ground. We gladly leave this turmoil behind us, and seek a serener air above the clouds and storms of statistical disquisitions. We consign cheerfully to the paternal solicitude of Messrs. Faucher, Chevalier, Tégoborski, their compeers and their successors, the hopeless task of filling the leaky tub of the Danaïdes, and of erecting huge edifices on shifting quicksands. We are content to adhere principally to M. Tégoborski, the latest, the most diligent, and apparently the best informed of the authors specifically cited, for our information, and to take our departure from those provisional data recorded in the opening paragraph of these remarks.

In 1847 the sum total of the precious metals dispersed amongst the various populations of the world has been represented to have amounted to six thousand millions of dollars.* In 1852 the annual supply had reached at least three hundred millions,† or one-twentieth of the entire aggregate accumulation of centuries only five years previous. If there were neither losses nor abrasion to be compensated, twenty years at this rate of production would suffice to double the metallic treasures of the world; and, twenty-four are sufficient on M. Tégoborski's estimate to achieve this result after repairing the incessant subtractions. Assuming that the future annual produce has been, and will continue to be equivalent to the receipts of the year 1852—an hypothesis more likely to fail from defect than excess—we have the main data required to enable us to appreciate the conditions and the magnitude of the problem presented for the intelligent or instructive solution of the passing age.

Such vast numbers as those now necessary to note the characteristics of the money question are well calculated to startle and bewilder the mind of every inquirer, for they are not the loose counters of fictitious multiplications, but the representa-

* Tégoborski. pp. 71-2.

† M. Tégoborski's own estimate reaches \$342,000,000. p. 26.

tives of actual realities, the exponents of a movement taking place annually and from year to year, and in which every day in each year, and every man in each community, participates in due order and degree. Every separate unit in these enormous numerations has been handled, and washed, and worked, and refined, and assayed; it has been fingered, noted, and exchanged; it has passed through numerous manipulations and will pass through many more, leaving at every turn its own sorrows, enjoyments, penalties, or profits behind it. Imprehensible, (if we may coin a word,) as the aggregate numbers may prove to the mind that would apprehend their significance, the separate elements are not merely tangible and substantial, but they have been many times touched and weighed already.

With such immense accessions of wealth flowing into the grand treasury of humanity, serious convulsions, important changes, and considerable oscillations of value might be reasonably apprehended. The duty obviously presented itself to statesmen, legislators, financiers, and publicists, to take precautions against such convulsions, to regulate such changes, and to appreciate in advance such oscillations. It was consequently a natural impulse which led several European States in 1850 to adopt measures calculated in their estimation to avert or alleviate the immediate dangers apprehended from the sudden multiplication of gold; and it was equally natural that the influence of those measures should extend over the whole commercial world; and that their propriety should be critically examined by the financial writers of the times.

In July, 1850, Holland gave the first symptom of the general panic by demonetizing, or excluding from circulation, the gold ten-florin piece and the Guillaume. Portugal refused a current value to any gold coins other than English sovereigns. Belgium, which had previously endeavored to attract gold from abroad, demonetized gold coins, both domestic and foreign. Russia, by a ukase of 29th December, 1850, prohibited the export of silver. In the same month the French Government issued a commission to examine into the questions connected with a double circulation of gold and of silver. England alone escaped the Aurophobia, as M. Faucher terms it.

Coincident with these public ordinances, and in great measure due to them, a marked change took place in Europe in the relative value of gold and silver. English sovereigns fell 2 per cent. at Paris. On the Amsterdam Exchange the fall of gold amounted to 4 per cent., silver rose at nearly the same rate in London; and in Holland, Belgium, and Hamburg the relative value of pure gold bullion to fine silver fell from the proportion of $15\frac{1}{2}$ and $15\frac{1}{4}$ to 1—to $15\frac{1}{4}$ to 1. A much greater depression was apprehended, but the panic soon passed over,

and the precious metals resumed their normal relations, partly perhaps in consequence of the fearless and steady conduct of England, partly perhaps in consequence of the report of the French Commission adverse to any change.*

The great oscillations of the currency, and the sudden action of the commercial nations, directed inquiry to the difficult questions connected with the precious metals and the currency; and several able writers, including those cited as our text, discussed the subject with more or less fullness, but confined themselves principally to the determination of the future relations of gold and silver. This, however, is the least important feature of the consequences to be anticipated from the increase of gold—because, under any circumstances it would occasion only a temporary disturbance; and the social changes to be effected by the multiplication of the precious metals were likely to be both more serious and more durable.

The intervention of the immense expenditures and losses of the Turco-Russian war—the demand for specie which it created—the vast expansion of many special industries which it caused, without arresting the general movement of production in western Europe—must prevent us from considering the question of the oscillations of gold and silver as by any means settled, since the same interruption of the ordinary routine of commerce denies to us the steady data which would have been afforded by the continuance of peace. But we may safely concur in the general conclusion of the more sober writers on this intricate topic, that the increase of silver will probably be at least proportionate to the increase of gold, if it does not augment at a still more rapid rate under the influence of renovated peace. The number and wealth of the silver mines are indefinite; and if not exhaustless, are amply sufficient to meet any steady demand that may be made upon them for many centuries to come. Eliminating, therefore, the inquiry into the prospective relations of gold and silver to each other, and regarding the augmentation of gold as simply equivalent to the augmentation of the precious metals, we proceed to inquire briefly into some of the more important effects to be anticipated by society from the past and prospective multiplication of the precious metals.

We deem it needless to imitate M. Tégoborski by entering into minute investigations to determine the increase of currency or bullion in particular countries or in the whole world, estimated per capita, in the compound ratio of the augmentation of the precious metals and the increase of the population. We have no faith in such general averages. They are service-

* Faucher, § i, pp. 2-5.

able within certain very narrow limits, but if pressed one inch beyond that restricted circle they are certain to mislead and betray. It may or may not be an approximation to the truth that, at the estimated rate of the production of the precious metals, and the estimate rate of the increase of the population in Europe, the addition of gold and silver in thirteen years would reduplicate the whole mass, and be equivalent to an average accession to each individual of twenty-one dollars and a half.* There is no such very long division in the distribution of wealth or even of money; nor would it add very materially to the comforts and independence of the masses, to the abundance of the rich, or to the productive energy of the community, if every man, woman, and child throughout Europe, were to accumulate in thirteen years an equal sum of four or five pounds. All that could be obtained from any such calculation would be a more apprehensible indication of the actual progress of the increase of the precious metals.

We leave such minute inquiries, our concern is with more general views and larger consequences.

The first and most obvious result of the recent accessions to the metallic treasures of the world has been the rapid increase in the value of property, especially property of a reproductive and durable kind. The price of land, and of most things raised from land, ascended during the first five years, at a rate estimated by M. Chevalier for France as equal to 3 or 4 per cent. per annum. Of course this rate was not uniform in different countries—local circumstances and concomitant peculiarities necessarily producing very great diversities. During the last three years the failure of the grain crops in Europe, the emigration to Australia, the Russian war, the excessive drought, and the excessive rains in America, severe winters, the extension of railroads, and other influential events, have variously disturbed and modified the increase in the value of property. But it is indubitable that there has been a general advance in prices in the most commercial regions of the globe, and that this advance is at least in part due to the depreciation of the precious metals.

The wages of labor have advanced, and are advancing with a varying increment, which is affected by all the dissimilar influences of places and circumstances. In England this rise of wages is attributed, and is in part attributable, to the exodus of the Irish people to the United States, to the immense emigration to Australia, and to the great destruction of human life in the Russian war; but it is also due in part to a general rise of prices occasioned by the depreciation of money. In

* Tégoborski, p. 87.

America the immigration would naturally have tended to lower wages or to maintain them at their former rate, unless more powerful influences had more than counterbalanced them. Among these influences may be enumerated the high price of grain and other provisions, consequent, but not entirely, on the transatlantic demand, the immense development of all branches of industry, but also the large augmentation of the precious metals.

Manufactured goods alone, though experiencing considerable oscillations of value, have never risen in price in a degree proportionate to the rise in the prices of other commodities around them. This admits of a very simple explanation, though it is one rarely taken into consideration. They are in great measure the products of perishable and circulating capital; and the relative value of such capital, as well as the rate of its profits, sinks with its enlarged accumulation. This is, indeed, only the first symptom of the ultimate tendency. The extraordinary augmentation of the precious metals will operate in many more modes than one to check and depress that ascendancy of wealth which has been the characteristic of the late centuries, and has tended to nurture so much social mischief and corruption, as well as to produce such brilliant material results. The very abundance of the precious metals, notwithstanding present appearances to the contrary, will ultimately render their accumulation, or the concentration of their products, in a few hands, impracticable; but it is the monopoly of wealth, or the monopoly of its productive applications, which gives to it its immense, though often untraceable power. For at least three centuries, since the reign of Henry VII. in England perhaps, the legislation of the more civilized and prosperous countries of the world has been steadily directed, under the dictation of capital, to the enlargement of the powers, the capabilities, and the influence of commercial and manufacturing wealth. All other considerations—the development of the moral worth of communities, and of the other elements of national greatness—virtue, intelligence, genius, heroism—have been at times disregarded altogether, at times treated as merely subordinate aims. Human nature rebelled against this tendency: the physical constitution of the nations has declined under it. The physical necessities of the masses, combined with the moral and intellectual aspirations of the few to attract attention to the social consequences of industrial supremacy. Hunger, and want, and misery inspired vain devices, accepting the wild guidance of reckless enthusiasts in a blind effort to break the galling chains which bound them, thus imagining the erratic and pernicious schemes of communism, socialism, Owenism, Fourierism, Icarianism, Poudhounism, agrarian-

ism, and anti-rentism. A new organization was sought, with a nobler and more stable basis than capital and the profits of capital, to minister to the requirements and relieve the needs of men. It was not merely the chimerical reformers who proclaimed the necessity of such a social regeneration; however tardy they may have been in making the acknowledgment, the wisest statesmen, the most profound publicists, the most sober and diligent students of the actual phenomena of society have in late years fully recognised the imperative urgency of such a reform, and have avowed that the industrial system of recent centuries has eventuated in wide spread misery, and menaces hopeless ruin, notwithstanding the delusive brilliancy of its apparent promises.

Profetessa menzognera,
Che il crepuscolo di sera
Dice albor di nuova età,
Una turba, che non vede,
Nel passato immota il piede,
Spera undi che non verrà.*

Such delusions as the communists and their imitators proposed for the alleviation of social distempers were of course impracticable in themselves, and could be productive of no effectual amelioration. Heaven alone unties these hopeless social knots, which ages of human ingenuity contrive. It is not merely a moral precept, but a social and political axiom also, which is given to us by inspiration: "Labor not to be rich; cease from thine own wisdom."†

It is a curious study to note how the ordinances of Providence, as exemplified by the unforeseen currents of human change, defeat human aims, correct human devices, and redress human errors, even by the extraordinary satisfaction accorded to human desires. Thus, in the present instance, the long effort for the increase and ascendancy of wealth, and for the extravagant augmentation of human riches, in the very moment of its supposed victory, promises to result by an unexampled expansion of its gains, in the very reverse of every thing anticipated, and in the solution of those difficulties which the theories of the most earnest and ingenious minds were impotent to mitigate. Gold has been charged with the origination and perpetuation of the social grievances under which Europe has been suffering such bitter agony; the multiplication of gold, instead of rendering these evils more intense, affords the hope of their satisfactory removal. For, when wealth is placed within the reach of all, it will cease to be an object of inordinate and ex-

* G. Multedo. *L'Apoteosi di Napoleone*.

† Prov. xxiii, iv. The same sentiment is expressed by Tacitus. Ann. iii, c. lxvi. * * "quod multos etiam bonos pessum dedit, qui spretis quæ tarda cum securitate, præmatura vel cum exitio properant."

clusive desire: when accident confers it, the splendors of its acquisition will be diminished: when each year changes the hands in which it is placed, by continually bringing forward new multitudes of successful adventurers, no exclusive influence can be long maintained by its possessors: when money and money's worth lose something of their prestige, and their monopoly of power and regard, man and man's worth will resume a juster place in the estimation of society than they have latterly done; and when these results are once, even imperfectly achieved, all the wild fantasies of the communists, of every hue and sect, will be thrown aside as nugatory chimeras, whose vague aspirations have been exchanged for brighter realities by adequate and providential modes.

The principal conclusion, which might ordinarily be drawn from the facts, and figures, and statistics connected with the recent increase of the precious metals, might extend no further than to the expectations that, if the sum total of the precious metals in 1847 amounted to six thousand millions of dollars, it might, on M. Tégoborski's data, attain to twelve thousand millions of dollars in 1871, or to thirteen dollars and a half ahead for the whole population of the globe. We do not recognize in this increase of fortune either the extreme of misery or the extreme of bliss. We do not think that the problem of the future condition of humanity is by any means solved by the discovery that some years hence we may calculate the fortunes, the metallic wealth of the human family, at thirteen dollars and a half *viritim*. We are compelled to look further for more important and significant information; and to do so, we must overlook, or look very lightly, upon such imaginary distributions of the sum total of the gold and silver of the world.

The train of reflections which we have been pursuing has led to the anticipation of inferences whose full cogency could only be appreciated after a more orderly development of the premises from which we set out. There are many phenomena in the present aspect of the times which appear to militate directly against the conclusions which have been indicated. Certainly, in no previous age has the ascendancy, the omnipotence, the irresponsibility of wealth been more glaringly or outrageously displayed than in the years which have elapsed since the discovery of the gold mines of California. Never has the increase or the monopoly of capital by individuals or by corporations proceeded at a more rapid pace than in the most recent years. Never has the lust for gain been more rabid and insatiable; never has it enjoyed more numerous or more ample opportunities for the gratification of its appetite; and never have there been more portentous symptoms of the possible establishment

of the feudalism of capital and the serfdom of labor. Nevertheless, despite of national and credit banks; despite of companies in England and France for the development and appropriation of the resources of the globe; despite of corporate steam fleets and consolidated railroads; despite of Strahans, and Pauls, and Sadleirs, and Péreires, we believe that the ultimate tendency of the present current of events is to overthrow and not to enthrone the despotism of commercial and industrial monopoly, and to attenuate, not to strengthen, the ascendancy of mere wealth.

It is not, however, the simple multiplication of the precious metals, due directly or indirectly to the treasures of California and Australia, but the manifold and interlinked consequences which are likely to flow from such multiplication, that are calculated to achieve the results we have ventured to anticipate. For example, the depreciation of gold is and has been retarded by the extraordinary demands of war, and by the vast extension of commerce and enterprise consequent upon the increase of the supplies of gold, and the development of the countries whence the gold has been derived. So long as gold, the most sensitive of values, is but slightly affected by the vast increase of its quantity, other forms of capital can experience no very serious modification; at least their reciprocal relations will be but little disturbed. Indeed, the influence of capital might well appear for some time to be extended, for, in the first stages of the enlarged activity of trade, the capital already realized and invested would retain nearly all its former power, and would acquire an accession of influence from the fact that it would occupy the vantage ground which enabled it to secure the first and largest benefits for itself. But this can scarcely be of any long continuance; it is only the first chapter in the grand drama of change.

With the rapid increase of the precious metals the operations of credit have been even more largely augmented. This double extension of the means of enterprise has stimulated and aided the extension of industry and trade, which required such assistance. This expansion has been already marked by serious but transient oscillations, due to local or accidental causes, such as war, drought, and similar influences. But the progress of productive activity has nevertheless been very decided, and is likely to be accelerated by the unexpected restoration of peace. New sources of wealth are revealed, new fields are thrown open for labor, new channels indicated to commerce, new markets afforded to manufactures. The whole civilized world has been, accordingly, excited to more rapid and profitable movement by the impulse originally communicated from a single spring; and even the Autocrat of all the Russias avows his

determination to apply himself and the energies of his Empire to the development of the latent resources of his vast domain. Every where, however, despite of war and the interruptions of war, the tendency to an expansion of the industrial activity of mankind has been most evident. Strange populations from the extremities of the earth—from regions over-peopled, and where labor is too scantily remunerated—have been introduced into new lands, where the virgin soil offers the first fruits of her abundant wealth, mineral or agricultural, to the newcomers without stint, without condition, and without abatement. New communities are thus springing up, and with them arise new wants, new demands for commodities, and new means of paying for them. In satisfying these wants, the vested capital and the established depositaries of credit have been required, and will for some considerable time be required, to initiate the movement. From their position they have been, and must be enabled to command their own terms in large measure, and also to determine to a very great extent their own profits. They are the owners of the nets which are spread in the agitated waters; and, as they bring to the shore the miraculous draught of golden fishes, they instinctively take care to reserve the most and the best of the prize for themselves. Thus have arisen the mushroom millionaires who have sprung up in very recent years in all the great cities of the commercial world. But every day tends to alter the relations of all parties, if the present current of events flows on in its natural channel. Every day tends also to break the enchanted want with which capital has hitherto maintained its predominant power, unless it should be strengthened by some new and successful device—which is already foreshadowed in the gigantic banks of credit established latterly in France, and imitated elsewhere.

There are points in this grand progress of events which need particular illustration, because they are intimately connected with some of the most notable features of this advancing age of gold. It has been a striking spectacle to behold in the recent years, the ancient population of the world drifted from their moorings, and tempted across wide oceans by the sudden attractions of distant and uninhabited lands. From the over-populated regions of the earth, from China in the east, and from all western Europe, they came in crowds:

A multitude, like which the populous north
Poured never from her frozen loins, to pass
Rhene or the Danau, when her barbarous sons
Came like a deluge on the south, and spread
Beneath Gibraltar to the Lybian sands.

Nations that have been groaning beneath the burden of redundant labor, whose poor-houses have been full of the indigent

for whom there was no work, and whose highways have been infested by lusty mendicants, have been suddenly relieved of the excess of this grievance, and already begin to complain of the rise of wages in consequence of the diminution of the competition in labor at home. Emigration has indeed been arrested for the last two years by the outbreak of the great European war, but the defect of population—a strange complaint for Europe—has been more signally manifested in consequence; and the outpouring of the population will recommence with the return of peace, unless the influences previously inducing it, should unaccountably cease.

But who is the loser in this operation? Not the masses who have exchanged the cares, and wants, and miseries, and unpaid labor, or, worse, unprofitable indolence, for the active industry of life in a new and untamed land. Not the masses who are left behind. They are obviously benefitted by the diminution of the pressure of population, and by the improvement of wages. Not the inhabitants of the countries whither the new accessions of laborers have flowed or may flow. They partake of the advantages resulting from the general development of the industry and resources of their undeveloped land. It is the capitalist alone, who experiences any injury. His capital is now able to command a smaller amount of labor than before, and to produce a smaller product or a smaller profit. But he has his own advantage: Heaven tempereth the wind to the poor shorn lamb, and even to him the changing breeze is softened. His market is enlarged, and rendered more speedy, more permanent, and more secure. He can extend his credit operations with the assurance of an increasing demand, and derive large profits from the expansion of his transactions. At the same time, however, the movement of business will become more rapid and urgent. For there will be the utmost competition to appropriate the facilities of credit; the claimants are multiplied, and so is the magnitude of the claims. There has been, and there may again be, considerable pressure on the money market, and times may be what is called tight, not because money or commodities are scarce, but because the demand is extraordinary, the prospective profits of the productive employment of capital large, tempting, and immediate, and the anticipations of the future as unsettled and vague as they are sanguine.

That portion of the general population of the world, whose departure from densely settled countries has relieved labor of its surplus, is now advantageously engaged in developing the new sources of wealth in new lands, and in reaping ample rewards for that industry which had before been not merely profitless, but an encumbrance to themselves, and a tax to the

communities of which they formed a part. The aggregate labor of the world is now acting under more favorable conditions, it is therefore enabled to create, and to renumerate a much larger production in every portion of the globe. Hence the unexampled activity, and the general prosperity, despite of serious interruptions, which the recent years have witnessed. The credit founded upon the old capital, upon former usages, and upon the influx of means from the gold mines, with actual increase of realized wealth, vast as this accumulation is proved by Messrs. Tégoborski, Chevalier, and Faucher to be, cannot at once extend itself or its results sufficiently to keep pace with the rapidly increasing demands upon it. Its profits, therefore, must be abundant; and the avidity to secure its advantages must exert for some time a constant strain on the money market. It may be that the intervention of war has produced a salutary effect by checking for a time the inordinate acceleration of commercial movements, and by agitating the minds of men. But the only serious crisis that can occur for many years to come must result from the mere frenzy of gambling speculations, easily suggested indeed by unusual prosperity, from the rash disbursements of governments, and from the extravagance of wealth. The only panic that need be apprehended is that which may arise from the want of comprehension of the true nature and course of the wonderful operations around us, in which all more or less directly participate.

It may be asked, how long will this state of things continue? The answer is difficult, and can be offered only with the greatest diffidence. A permanent change can scarcely be expected until the steadily increasing demand for products of all sorts has attained once more the limit of moderate, regular, and gradual augmentation; and until the present expansion of credit has been rendered unnecessary, and shall be precluded, by the supplies of the precious metals reaching that point when they will be sufficient of themselves to satisfy all pecuniary requirements, without its assistance, except as a measure of the most restricted convenience. Then, and not till then, will be fully manifested the progressive depreciation of capital, and the progressive ascendancy of the native energies, instincts, and capabilities of man.

For many generations the world has been living in a straitened and factitious state, from the growing superabundance of labor in the regions to which it was principally confined, and the too great condensation and comparative scarcity of capital, and especially of money. These things are working through a series of rapid modifications; and the play of very nearly the same laws and agencies of social economy, which have given to these United States their miraculous growth and pros-

perity, will operate in California and Australia for the benefit of those countries, and for the general advantage of mankind.

A limit has been proposed, when the ultimate tendencies now dimly moving to their aim may be realized; but when will this limit be attained? This is an enigma which it would be rash to pretend to unriddle. The operation of laws may be traced; but contingent events cannot be anticipated. If M. Tégoborski's data were either accurate or stable, a mere arithmetical calculation might afford a satisfactory response. But of their accuracy we can obtain no assurance, though their instability is certain. They will fluctuate every day with the changing current of events. All that can be safely hazarded must be restricted to a few suggestions which may stimulate inquiry and reflection. The investigation of the influences to be exercised upon humanity by the discovery of gold mines of incalculable fertility, and by the probably consequent augmentation of silver, is one of the most intricate, the most perilous, the most bewildering, and the most delicate speculations into which the student of social changes can enter. Conjecture is easily betrayed into rashness; and induction is in danger of neglecting facts which may afterwards prove of paramount importance, or of misinterpreting some of the multifarious and complicated phenomena. Between Scylla and Charybdis, with whirlpools on either hand, it is difficult to sail. This voyage has not been undertaken without a compass: in the absence of a reliable pilot, we have kept our eye steadily fixed on the polar star of historical science.

In the prosecution of these inquiries, it must be remembered that changes in the order of human affairs proceed gradually, however sudden the change in the causes may be. They advance by degrees in a continuous chain of mutations; and when the moment of their final accomplishment arrives, it seems as if nothing had been left to be achieved. It is only by recurring to the conditions which preceded the commencement of the process that we can estimate what, and how much has been done. It is like the sand in an hour glass, or like the percolation of water through a filter, one drop falls at a time without perceptibly diminishing the quantity in the reservoir above; yet, at the last, it is only one drop that is required to leave it empty, and to transfer the whole to a new receptacle. Or, it is like the constant renovation of the human body, which physiologists assure us is renewed every seven years. It is always proceeding, and is at length completed, yet at no moment are we conscious of the nature of the change, or of any part of the process. So much does the life of humanity resemble that of the individual.

Many influences are operating to postpone the great social renovation anticipated. New applications are devised for the precious metals, many of them destructive of any future utility. The larger employment of gold in the industrial arts retards accumulation and the consequences of plethora. Three years ago, the consumption of gold leaf in the manufactures of Birmingham reached 1,000 ounces weekly, and 400 ounces in those of London. In the Staffordshire potteries the amount used varied from 7,000 ounces to 10,000 ounces per annum; and the quantity annually required for electrotyping in England was also 10,000 ounces. The increased extravagance of fashionable luxury tends to the same result—the rapid consumption of the supplies of the precious metals. It is not only those vagaries into which gold enters as a component part that retard the occurrence of the anticipated results, and may defeat them, but all unavailing and wasteful expenditure. The trifles of life are intimately connected with the general fortunes of the human race. Every one has witnessed instances of the sudden and wild increase of luxury and extravagance in recent years, and no one will hesitate to ascribe it, at least in part, to the gold of California and Australia.

Other influences, acting in a different way, will operate temporarily with a similar effect.

The same phenomena, which have been, or may be generated, by the mines of California and Australia, are likely to be repeated in successive cycles, separated from each other by only short intervals, in consequence of future discoveries of gold, or the increased production of silver. The period, therefore, at which the troubled waters of the new pool of Bethesda may again sink into repose, is still, in all probability, very distant, as well as very uncertain.

The seductions of wealth in recent times have been almost overwhelming, and have generated a feverish avidity for its sudden attainment, while furnishing splendid examples of such success. Thus has been exerted a spirit of furious rapacity, which reveals its intemperate course to the public by occasional exposures, such as the Schuyler case in New York, and the Paul and Sadlier frauds in England. The same spirit, united with the enlarged functions of credit, has also led to colossal schemes for the centralization, consolidation, and appropriation of the powers of credit, as manifested in the mammoth device of the *Crédit Mobilier* in France. To such projects there is a manifest proclivity in our times. Their success would completely derange the order of events which we have ventured to prognosticate, and would be ultimately as fatal to capital and enterprise, as it would be to labor. Such institutions, and the appetencies they reveal, are the grand counter-

poise to what we conceive to be the natural tendencies of the time. But these phenomena are too obscure and complex to be fully appreciated here.

At present, the most obvious consideration is the rapid accumulation of the precious metals, doubling, says M. Tégoborski, in twenty-four years. But, if man cannot live by bread alone, still less can he live by gold alone. Midas is said to have made the experiment, and to have starved. With the increase of the precious metals the development of all applications of human industry also increases. The untenanted lands of the world—many of them among its most fertile spots—will be occupied by active laborers. The elements of civilization will be disseminated, and the agencies of production brought into wider and more effectual exercise. Fortunately, the uninhabited, or the sparsely inhabited regions of the earth are more than ample for the prospective necessities of centuries. Fortunately, too, the population of the globe, so cramped and crowded in many places, if once let loose from its confinement, is sufficient to cover the eastern and western hemispheres with plenty. The problem has been to tempt the depressed and inadequately rewarded laborer from the countries where labor was too abundant, and to place him in favorable contact with the unemployed land, and with the unemployed resources of the world. The late discoveries of gold have commenced the satisfaction of this requirement; they have broken up the compact masses of densely inhabited countries; they have stimulated emigration, and inaugurated its practice on the largest scale among all classes; their attractions drew thousands from their homes, myriads followed, and the habit once confirmed will produce a transfer of labor from the places where it is redundant and ill-paid, to those where it is in defect, and will be handsomely rewarded. The hopes of half the world are already on the waters or beyond the seas; the capital of christendom is floating backwards and forwards upon the waves across whole hemispheres; crowds have passed, other crowds will succeed; and the more even and advantageous distribution of population will be the result. Gold was the first temptation, but it could not long continue to be the sole or even the principal attraction, for all places where human activity is intelligently at work will participate in the common benefit. Every product of industry will obtain its share of the profits.

When the varied influences, thus hurriedly indicated, are considered in their manifold reactions upon each other, new scenes may be presented, and new triumphs announced, of which we can now form no conjecture. These things are the

commencement of the change. If such things, as we witness, are done in the green tree, what will be done in the dry? Each onward movement will, in its turn, introduce other advances, and expedite the march of human progress, by pointing out the way, and making straight the road to other conquests, thus illustrating the sublime augury of the poet:

"Men, my brothers, men the workers, ever reaping something new:
That which they have done, but earnest of the things which they shall do."

With each fresh discovery, as with every grand change, the circle of progress is amplified, and the arena of humanity enlarged. New communities, and new nations will arise to assist in the development of the vast drama, to win additional triumphs, and to give additional lustre to the career of the race. The future, with all its promise and all its capabilities, but also with all its dark uncertainties, is before us; the instruments and the agencies of amelioration and advancement are bestowed upon us; Providence has opened an unexpected refuge from apprehended miseries, and it is left to our intelligence and discretion so to use the facilities afforded as to secure to ourselves and our posterity the salutary abundance of the rich harvest. But, when all else changes around us, we must adapt ourselves to the novelties of our altered position; and to do this, it is necessary to master the varied aspects of our situation, and to bring to the guidance of the new powers vouchsafed to this generation a larger intelligence, a loftier energy, a firmer integrity, a more generous industry than sufficed before. Every thing indicates a vast expansion of the sphere of human activity, and the mind and heart of man must expand with the augmentation of the material resources and material necessities of the world, in order to achieve the full and healthy fruition of the good which is offered for his acceptance. And, almost in anticipation of the external aid afforded by the numberless facilities of an ampler industry, Literature and Science, Philosophy and Society, have been stirred with a new life, and the waters of all human development have been agitated with an unseen and mysterious motion, like the spirit of creation brooding over the face of the deep, before the varied beauty and admirable harmony of the universe were evolved out of the void and formless darkness of chaos.

The domestic production of gold, so far as is indicated by the deposits at the Mint, amounts to more than three hundred and twenty-two millions of dollars from the year 1793 to 1855, both inclusive. Of this large sum, the gross product to the end of the year 1848, was little more than thirteen millions of dollars, as is shown by the annexed table. To this should be added several millions as the export from California, via Panama to Southampton—and also the export to China and elsewhere. Of this aggregate, about ninety-four per cent. has been produced by California, viz:

From California (eight years).....		\$313,235,502 77
" North Carolina.....	\$8,282,152 85	
" Georgia.....	6,488,632 86	
" Virginia.....	1,458,210 50	
" South Carolina.....	1,154,305 44	
" Alabama.....	192,205 92	
" Tennessee.....	80,193 00	
" New Mexico.....	45,937 00	
" Other sources.....	64,831 00	
		<hr/> \$17,766,768 57
		<hr/> \$331,002,271 34
Deduct redeposits of 1854.....		8,041,137 00
		<hr/> \$322,901,134 34

The total value of the coinage of the United States, from 1793 to 1855, both inclusive, has been within a fraction of five hundred millions. For the year 1855, the aggregate coinage, including fine bars, was \$56,312,732 99.

RAILROAD SYSTEM OF THE SOUTHWEST.*

No. I.

PROGRESS MADE IN IMPROVEMENTS BEING CONSTRUCTED IN LOUISIANA AND STATES EAST OF THE OHIO AND MISSISSIPPI RIVERS, THEIR COMMERCIAL, MORAL, AND POLITICAL ADVANTAGES, AND THEIR NECESSITY TO A COMMUNITY OF STATES OF KINDRED LAWS AND INSTITUTIONS.

At the first blush it would seem scarcely necessary to allude to our own railroads, as it might fairly be presumed that a subject so often before the public would have made every one acquainted with their condition, circumstances, and progress; but unfortunately this is not the case, but the truth is, there is a lamentable ignorance prevailing, and not without more or less hostility, jealousy, and opposition, which no promises can propitiate, or reason enlighten or subdue.

It could not be expected that the citizens of a State destitute of all public improvements, and possessing mechanical skill and experience to only a very limited extent, could at once be endowed with capacity to carry out large undertakings, and avoid the commission of many and serious mistakes. This is, more or less, the history of every undertaking, public or private, that has been commenced since the country has been settled; and nothing but time and a feeling of permanent interest in our undertakings, by those who have invested their means to construct them, will give us that skill and proficiency which we do not now possess.

That public expectation is disappointed, and its hopes discouraged, needs no proof; but still enough has been done to place our railroads beyond the reach of absolute failure, and to

* By James Robb, Esq., of New Orleans, addressed to Governor Wickliffe, of Louisiana.

establish an importance for them, which should command support; and no discouragement should be permitted to make us despond, or deter us from meeting the issue with courage and a determination to employ our means to their utmost limit, to secure the great prize of commercial distinction within our reach, and which once gained, will repay our sacrifices a hundred-fold.

The Great Northern Railroad Company will have, within a month hence, one hundred and sixteen miles of finished road, and sixty additional miles graded and bridged, in readiness for the iron, if it had the means to procure it. The Opelousas Company will soon have its road pushed to Berwick's bay, a distance of 72 miles, and with every prospect of a remunerative traffic.

The Vicksburg and Shreveport Company is making considerable progress; and the discretion and foresight evinced in its management, and the character, experience and responsibility of the contractors employed to build the whole road, are guarantee of its success. As a pioneer road, this is entitled to rank first over any road yet projected in the State. The region it is designed to open is of the greatest fertility, and its capacity to produce cotton alone will, in a few years, be sufficient to build up a trade that would support a city as large as Memphis. The travel of North Louisiana and Texas will pass over it to Vicksburg; thence by the Vicksburg road to Jackson, and over the Great Northern road, to New Orleans, and every State in the Union. North of Canton, Miss., commences a series of railroads which have already made progress, and are being pushed forward with energy. They will establish a complete network of intercommunication, commencing with the Mississippi Central, extending from Canton to Holly Springs, and thence to Lagrange, Tenn., where it intersects the Memphis and Charleston; and on to Jackson, Tenn., where it intersects the Mobile and Ohio road, running to the mouth of the Ohio river, and to Paducah, at the mouth of the Tennessee river. Twenty-four miles of the Mississippi Central are finished, between Holly Springs and Lagrange; fifty miles south of Holly Springs, and north of Canton, are graded and prepared for the reception of the iron, which has already been purchased; and every reasonable expectation prevails that the remainder of the grading and the preparation of the superstructure, will be complete within twelve months. The work on this road is chiefly performed by the planters on its line, and at a very small cost. Seventy miles north of Canton commences the Memphis and Grenada road, which will become the route for a direct line of travel from New Orleans to Memphis. Of this road ten miles are finished, and the remainder is progressing under such auspices as to assure its completion. From Memphis various lines of railroad

radiate, all of which have made constant progress; and the one constructing through Arkansas, to Little Rock, is of great importance to New Orleans, in assuring a considerable outlet for the produce of the interior to the Mississippi river, which, in seasons of suspended navigation, is locked up for many months. The Memphis and Louisville road is finished for a distance of thirty miles, and the energy that distinguished its past management, is an index of its future progress. This road is entitled to aid from the State of Tennessee, to the extent of ten thousand dollars per mile on the portion constructed within its limits. The Memphis and Charleston Company have in operation 172 miles of finished road, and the assistance lately voted by the State of Alabama, will greatly facilitate its progress towards completing all its connections within another year. At Chatanooga, railroad communication commences and extends beyond Knoxville to Virginia, and the entire line thence to Washington city is now more than two-thirds finished. Every calculation is to be made, on the whole being completed within the next three years. The road from Louisville to Nashville, is now finished for a distance of thirty miles, and its friends are sanguine of its success. In proof of its estimated importance, the citizens of Louisville have recently voted it additional aid for one million of dollars. The Tennessee and Alabama Company have finished thirty miles of road south of Nashville; this road is designed to form a continuation of the line between that city and New Orleans, and is entitled to the aid of the State of Tennessee, for \$10,000 per mile on the portion running within its limits, which will amount to \$1,100,000. The Mobile and Ohio Company have in operation 162 miles of road, and the whole of the line is nearly graded to the mouth of the Ohio river and Paducah. That portion running through Tennessee, is already prepared for iron, and the State is about to issue, in its six per cent. bonds, \$1,100,000 to finish it.

The foregoing is an accurate sketch of the various railroads projected and commenced since 1851, (excepting the Mobile and Ohio,) which exceed 2,000 miles in extent, the work on which is to-day more than half completed, and every mile of which, when every connection is made, will contribute something in favor of the trade and importance of New Orleans. It suggests to every mind that will examine the subject, the profitable traffic and travel which such a system of extensions and intersections of railroads, will at once bring to the Great Northern road; and the slightest reflection will be quick to appreciate the rich inheritance this company will enjoy, in the undisturbed possession of the link of 206 miles between New Orleans and Canton, forever secure against rivalry and competition.

Its importance is emphatically, and relatively to any other railroad projected in the Union, what the Mississippi river is to its tributaries. Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, have expended one hundred and fifty millions of dollars in constructing lines of railroad that are rivals for the trade and travel of the West; less than one-tenth of the sum will give to New Orleans, the advantage of facilities of equal extent to those possessed by any of the great Northern cities through their enormous outlays. No expedient which invention can contrive, will ever intrude any competition against the exclusive control which is now and forever invested in the 206 miles from it, to Canton; and capital, that is given to construct it, will, in time, prove remunerative and productive beyond all example.

The vast basin of country which this grand system of improvement is designed to improve and adorn, embraces eight degrees of latitude from north to south, and thirty degrees of longitude. Of all climates it is the most highly favored; its riches in the fertility of the soil, its mines of iron and coal, constitute it in every respect, the finest region within the broad limits of our republic; and aided in its development, by the freedom of our genial institutions, and the enterprise of a bold and noble race, it will attain an opulence and power which will descend with renown, to the latest generations.

Its present area may be computed at 185,360 square miles, and 119 millions of acres, exclusive of the territory of Louisiana. Its population in 1850 exceeded three millions of inhabitants, nearly equal to the total of the New England States, and not much under that of the thirteen States, when our war of independence commenced; and if its population was increased to twelve millions, the average would not exceed to the square mile, that known in England, in the commencement of the 17th century. Should it ever reach the average to the square mile in England at the present day, it would contain 36 millions of people.

I am now brought to a point of confession which must cause every honest and patriotic citizen who is attached to his country, to bow his head in humiliation. Every section of this vast and magnificent region, from which we draw the materials of our enormous export, is exerting every influence to push forward great works, designed to achieve for New Orleans the greatest commercial grandeur and power; every day brings fresh appeals to arouse us from our indifference, and to extend a helping hand in completing the greatest mission of the age. But in vain do those appeals come recommended by works of the greatest promise, which are progressing for our benefit. We are in a condition of supineness with the works we have commenced,

incredible as it is true; and to use an expressive figure of Indian eloquence, we are "an aged hemlock, dead at the top."

There is that in American enterprise which, in other States, shrinks not, and faints not, and fails not, in its labor, but rises equal to its purposes; its unflinching resolution can accomplish everything, and the friends of progress must assume the armor of determination to renew the struggle, and restore our undertakings to a solid basis, by resuming the policy which experience has demonstrated to be the one of economy and safety. If the State of Mississippi postpones action, and denies the aid which is so clearly within the compass of her ability, without oppression to the most humble of its citizens, we must rely upon our own resources. I do not and cannot doubt that the large mass of our liberal and intelligent property-holders will be willing to lend cordial co-operation and support, in answer to any appeal that is recommended and assured by guarantees of renewed activity in prosecuting to their completion, the works we have begun.

THE CENTRAL AMERICAN QUESTION.

A FEW HISTORICO-POLITICAL VIEWS—CENTRAL AMERICA—THE CONTRASTS OF THE OLD AND THE NEW WORLD—THE MOVEMENT IN THE WEST—THE FUTURE.

An historical review of the past is generally considered the most befitting introduction to a work of travels. Many a reader may, perhaps, look to this introduction for a summary of the events that have transpired in the countries which we describe, during the last centuries. We might commence this first chapter with a review of the time when the Spaniards discovered and conquered the beautiful tropical regions of the western hemisphere, and in the realms of the Aztecs, the Inkas, and the Mozkas, in the highlands of Guatemala, among the Guiches and Kachiques, found that remarkable half-civilization and those populous cities, of which to-day but few traces remain. Then would follow a description of Spanish colonial dominion with its gloomy uniformity; a narrative of the separation of the colonies from the mother-country; and finally, the latest history of these Republics of which the revolutions of the soldiery and the dictatorial usurpation of ambitious military chieftains form the most important episodes.

In order not to tire the reader in the beginning with a lecture of historical events, the particulars of which are more of painful than attracting interest, we have postponed this historical review to the conclusion of the work. We begin with the consideration of that which lies nearer to us; the position of Central America to the north, and the condition and development of the western hemisphere in their relations to the Old World.

For the New World becomes daily more attractive and important, the further and wider the expansion of the two grand and chronic evils of Europe: *Over population and pauperism.*

The plastic form of the soil as well as the climate of Central America, render the largest part of it not only inhabitable for the emigrant from the temperate zones, but also advantageous and pleasant. This is a truth which, will be news to those only, who believe that the climate and the temperature of the atmosphere is dependent upon the relative proximity of the country to the equator or the poles, and who do not know the modifying influence upon the climate exercised by the elevation of the soil. The mountainous character is predominant in the States of Costa Rica, San Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras. Nicaragua only has more low lands and its climate is too warm. The most of the plateaux and high valleys of those States enjoy the mild temperature of an eternal spring, which never deprives vegetation of its green ornament, never forces the inhabitants to use artful devices to protect themselves against the cold, and allows them at all times the unabridged use of all their powers of body and of mind. The only exception make the low plains with their humid, warm, enervating atmosphere.

The greatest part of Central America, which since its separation from Spain was distracted by anarchy and civil strife, does now enjoy comparative rest, which seems to indicate a period of transition to a more regular and happy condition. Everywhere among the people, from the highlands of Mexico down to the Isthmus of Panama, is found the same presentiment of a near change in their condition—a change that probably will force them, to the welfare of the country, though it be to the ruin of the race which has hitherto governed it, to unite under the “Star Spangled Banner” of the “Union,” and to join as satellites in the same orbit of planets. The new movement, into which the races of New Spain are peremptorily drawn by a providential power, stronger than human opposition, is painful to them. They know and fear rightfully, that in union with another race, the weaker must succumb to the stronger. At best, they think the weaker will meekly and humbly vegetate or die out slowly, under the shade of the colossal hickory tree of liberty of the North. While the northern hickory would independently and powerfully elevate its summit to the sun, the weaker parasitical plants could enjoy but so much of light and air as the giant may allow them.

That the country itself could only gain, if an energetic race were transplanted hither, nobody denies. With the Yankees, capital would come, and banks, commercial activity, manufac-

tures, immigration, railroads, steam communications, and plank-roads would soon follow. But then the Spanish races in this beautiful zone, where nature herself so tenderly gives everything man needs for mere existence, would lose the privilege to give themselves up to a sweet indolence—regardless of the giant-like progress of their neighbors—and yet to preserve to themselves the privileged advantages of political dominion. As a natural and, perhaps, the most effectual remedy against a forced annexation to, or absorption by the north, confederation presented itself to the New-Spaniards. All nations of predominant Hispano-American blood ought to have joined in establishing a strong confederacy as a counterpoise to the northern "Union." Mexico would have been the most natural leader of such a league, which might have comprised not only Central America proper, from Guatemala down to Costa Rica, but even the southern half of the new continent. But then, to achieve this, they ought to have possessed not only that nerve of enterprise, but also that spirit of association, to which the great northern Republic is indebted for its grandeur and power. Petty rivalries among individual States, the desire to advance sectional interests, and the lust for isolation, of provinces and cities, but chiefly the selfishness and ambitious designs of party leaders should have been abandoned. All private animosity ought to have been made subordinate to the grand national object, and united under the common banner: Independence of the Hispano-American Nationality; Union of all nations of the Spanish tongue on this continent; and no alliance with a foreign race.

Of all this, the opposite has happened. The territory of the old Spanish vice royalties dissolved itself into republics, gradually increasing in number. Each province, somewhat distant from the metropolis, strived to free itself from the political influence of the capital. Instead of uniting against the foreign race, internal feuds raged incessantly, State against State, of one province against another. The spirit of old Spanish provincialism, which the vicegerents of Spain have kept in abeyance by their despotism, again developed itself after their liberation from Spanish rule. All selfish passions strived for predominance. None would voluntarily give way to the great interests of the whole. None would hear the voice of warning and counselling.

And if in our endeavor to faithfully carry out this principle of our true policy, we should engender the active hostility of a rival or rivals, it will at once be our right and duty to repel and frustrate, with all the force we are master of, those hostile schemes of intervention, which are planned to intercept the onward course of the American eagle, and by ad-

hering to which, England has added thousands of square miles to its territory, and subjected millions of people to the domineering influence of British rule; and if the sad consequences is a bloody conflict of two nations, encircled by so many kindred ties, we are confident to believe that the unanimous response of public opinion of the world to the complaints of Great Britain would sound "*Tu l'as voulu.*"

We herewith introduce the following translation of the introductory chapter to a new work upon *Central America*, lately published in Germany, (in March, 1856,) by Professors SCHERZER and WAGNER, who have been residing in that country from May, 1853, 'till late in the fall of 1855. They speak from personal observation, and as they are favorably known among literary and scientific men of both hemispheres for their sagacity, learning, research, and the general correctness and reliability of their statements and observations, we speak for the article below a careful perusal.

CENTRAL AMERICA.

It was but a few short months ago, that the attention of the world was concentrated upon the Taurean peninsula, where a mighty struggle seemed to foreshadow great events. Whether or not the result of that struggle of five nations, brought to a close by the treaty of Paris, on the 30th March last, are in any manner commensurate with the hopes with which it was begun, and with the anxiety that followed its meanderings through its various courses, is not the intention now, and in this place, to inquire. The fact is enough, that the bloody battlefield of the Alma, of Inkierman, and of the walls of Sebastopol, have lost their magnetic power, and that the eyes of combined Europe, of nations as well as of governments, are now upon the West. That narrow strip of land which connects the North with the South of America, claims now that attention which was rightfully bestowed upon the Crimea, during the last ten years. For—and it is not without pride that we write it—American genius, and American enterprise, are here at work, to change the commercial geography of the world.

We are not a "Fliebuster"—in the common acceptation of the term. We do not advocate "land piracy"—as practiced by our kindred neighbor across the water for the last two or three centuries. But we believe, and believe firmly, in the

destiny of our country, as made manifest by the spirit of American propagandism, and the genius of the American people. Hence our conviction, that Central America, ere long, will be the scene of events, as fruitful for the future history of the world as either the fall of the Roman Empire, or the discovery of America. It is immaterial whether *Walker* succeeds in Nicaragua to establish himself, or whether he succumbs to the powers that are brought to bear against him. Nature will have its way, and *Walker*, whatever personal motives he may have for his actions, is but the precursor of a mightier power, an involuntary instrument in the hands of an unchangeable fate. Or is any one prepared to deny this? Let him look at the past history of Central America, and consider the mighty interests with which its geographical position links it to our Union. Let him look at the extraordinary fertility of its soil, almost without a parallel; at the general salubrity of its climate in the more remote and elevated regions from the sea-coast; and then cast a glance at the native indolence of the predominant race. Let him compare the utter insignificance in the balance sheet of the world's commerce, of the once confederated, now separated five republics, with the probable and gigantic yield in the products of nearly every clime, if the productive facilities of those countries be cultivated by an enterprising and energetic people. And last, let him look at the dreary waste of the central region of our own country, which stands as an unconquerable barrier to extensive cultivation, thus as it were, breaking in twain *that* line of inland communication between the States on the shores of the Pacific and those of the Mississippi valley, which can only be successfully maintained when supported and nourished into life by a comparatively unbroken chain of advancing and prosperous settlements. And if he then should still dissent from our view, let him but stand aside, in company with the few of his like, and the spirit of the American political and social system will fulfil his sacred mission without their aid and co-operation, and even in spite of their open or secret opposition.

And opposition—a fierce and uncompromising opposition—we ought and do foresee; not only from among those of our own people—for whom the events of history always “rush too fast”—but even from a powerful foreign rival. But this fact convinces us the more of the entire correctness, success, and perpetuity of our national advance. For, whatever could weaken and eventually degrade the American people, would find a hearty welcome and cordial approval with the aristocratic rulers of our envious rival, “*Old England*.” But whenever “*Young America*” steps forth with a bold consciousness of its right, to expand its fertilizing influence over that part of

the western hemisphere which rightfully belongs to it, then the "cross of St. George" looms up, the "British Lion" shakes his mane, growls and gnashes his teeth in anger, at the "ungrateful offspring." Not only for this reason, however, do we find this unceasing opposition of England to our gaining a controlling influence over Central America, quite natural; we are kind-hearted enough to excuse it even from a financial and commercial point of view. England knows and feels it, that if Central American States should once be opened to unrestricted colonization by Americans, her West India possessions would soon become almost entirely worthless. The coffee and sugar of the Antilles would, in the short space of a few years, be superceded by the coffee of Costa Rica, and the sugar of Honduras and Nicaragua; for which products these States seem by nature herself to be peculiarly adapted. But even cotton, that great staple of our country, which makes three-fifths of the manufacturing interests of Great Britain dependant upon the productive prosperity of our Southern States, offers an abundant yield in the lower regions of nearly all the Central American States. And an accession to American enterprise of a cotton-growing country is what England dreads most. She makes now gigantic efforts to supplant the produce of the United States, by warmly encouraging and materially supporting the extensive cultivation of the cotton plant in the East Indies and her Cape colonies, without affecting as yet, in any degree, the preponderance of our Southern States in the cotton trade of the world; but let a new field of enterprise invite the skilful hand of the American producer, and that preponderance is never to be overcome. Moreover, the unfettered control by Americans of the several transit routes across the Cordilleras is not far from being an imperative necessity, equally demanded by the patriotic desire to preserve and perpetuate the political union of the Atlantic with the Pacific States, and by a just and wise appreciation of the duties of self-protection and self-preservation, that require the entire exclusion of all and every influence of foreign governments over any part of the North American continent; and this can only be accomplished by firmly establishing the influence of our own race upon a national basis—harmony and political union against the greater danger of invasion from a foreign and more powerful nationality. Yea, the leading men of the Republic of Honduras offered to the northern Union the sale of a part of their territory and a political alliance, not from any sympathy with the yankees, but from hatred, jealousy, and a feeling of vengeance they entertained against the neighboring Republic of Guatemala. An ossified egotism is, perhaps, the most prominent trait of character of the Hispano-American.

This characteristic is so strong, that it alone keeps suppressed every attempt at elevating the national element, and breaks the force even of patriotism; and this, alone, is sufficient to keep the new Spanish republics in a state of permanent political inactivity against the North Americans, even if they possessed a true conception of their condition, and a clear foresight of the future, whilst but vague apprehensions of coming events fill their minds and paralyze their powers of action. Instead of striving to disenthral themselves from their present political abjection, by a thorough knowledge of their own faults, and by learning from their antagonist the secret of his strength, they attempt lately to intoxicate themselves by Mexican braggardism. No one believes earnestly in the ability of the Santa Annas, the Carreras, and other new Spanish "heroes" to combat with the mighty powers and men of the north. But their fanfaronades may serve well to bedumb the people in view of the tormenting presentiment of the future.

Whoever has fully apprehended the political impotency of these people, and the hopelessness and disconsolate condition of all Hispano-American States, where only by a peaceable northern immigration, that is, by a commingling of races, which would entirely change the inborn character of the population, a new spirit of activity could be generated, he might be tempted to adopt for these States that awful motto, which the poet of "*Comedia divina*" inscribed over the gates to hell. One may give the advice to Spanish-America, that it ought to submit to its fate with Asiatic resignation, and to adopt as a symbol for its policy the "*Allah Kerim*"—in other words, "*let destiny have its run.*" It seems as if nature herself had denied to these people of mixed Indian blood, the means, by their own exertion, to become masters of their lethargy.

United States Exports to and Imports from Central America.

Years.	Value of Exports			Value Imports.
	Dom. produce.	For. produce.	Total.	
1845.....	\$41,543	\$26,101	\$67,649	\$65,269
1846.....	75,136	45,117	120,253	116,733
1847.....	73,322	23,246	96,568	80,581
1848.....	34,940	15,438	50,378	18,272
1849.....	112,490	23,739	136,219	56,017
1850.....	57,225	12,967	70,192	261,459
1851.....	223,302	39,089	262,391	149,856
1852.....	386,136	87,332	473,518	368,355
1853.....	225,356	120,474	346,330	590,937
1854.....	250,539	53,345	308,884	2,360,422
1855.....	1,210,584	51,586	1,262,170	286,409

BLEDSOE ON LIBERTY AND SLAVERY.*

The agitation of the Slavery Question, which has been renewed in recent years with so much virulence and zeal, and which has exercised such a marked and disastrous influence on the federal politics of the nation, and the reciprocal relations of the several States, has so far produced at least one beneficial result. It has compelled the people of the South to re-examine the grounds of controversy with increased care, to content themselves no longer with indistinct and fluctuating opinions caught by unconscious infection from the adverse sentiment of the literary world, to enter more deeply and more philosophically into the consideration of the merits and demerits of the institution so acrimoniously assailed, and to compare with a keener discernment the principle on which the two conflicting systems of labor are founded, and the effects upon society which are due to them respectively. The latter branch of the subject has been only incidentally and imperfectly discussed as yet; but the former has been treated with much ability and from various points of view, so as to have furnished already a copious and irrefragable array of arguments in favor of slavery. The necessity for this elaborate investigation of the problem of free and slave labor, has generated an entire revulsion of feeling and judgment in the hearts and minds of many of our people; it has opened their eyes to the delusion and sophistry of the objections adduced by the adversaries of the South; it has satisfied them of the entire propriety and justice of a social arrangement which they had previously tolerated with ill-restrained repugnance as a necessary evil. Notwithstanding the speculative doubts by which the slave-owners were troubled, the general sentiment among them, under the guidance of instructive impulses, has always tenaciously maintained the sanctity and inviolability of slavery, but they have not arrived at a clear comprehension of the reasons by which slavery is justified and proved to be right and expedient without the aid of the numerous and usually able treatises which the controversy still raging has called forth.

The necessities of society in a great measure determine its literature; in many instances they give birth to it. They produce an appetency, which, by insuring an earnest and anxious circle of hearers, stimulates the inquiries of reflective minds, and encourages their literary efforts. This has been pre-eminently the case at the South with regard to the question of

* An Essay on Liberty and Slavery, by Albert Taylor Bledsoe, LL.D., Professor of Mathematics in the University of Virginia. Philadelphia. J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1856; 12mo.

slavery. The avidity for information and disquisition on this subject, which has lately been so manifest, is a natural and wholesome desire. If slavery is right let it be maintained at all hazards; if it be wrong let it be abolished at all costs; but let neither decision be accepted without a full appreciation of the various aspects of the investigation. Whatever that decision may be, if thus attained, it will leave behind it the consciousness of an intelligent performance of duty, and the assurance that the policy finally adopted will prove eminently beneficial and unquestionably right. In this crisis, as in all others, it is certain that truth is mighty and will ultimately prevail. In the mean time, we shall be indebted to the continuance and asperity of this controversy for the creation of a genuine southern literature—in itself, an inestimable gain to our people. For out of this slavery agitation has sprung not merely essays on slavery, valuable and suggestive as these have been, but also the literary activity, and the literary movement which have lately characterized the intellect of the South.

With other manifestations of the literary spirit, we have, however, at this time no further concern; our attention must be limited to the Slavery Question, and particularly to its discussion in the very satisfactory volume of Prof. Bledsoe—who has favored the public with the most lucid, and immediately available treatises hitherto produced on the subject. His work is strictly limited to certain definite aspects of the Slavery Question, to these he scrupulously confines himself, though incidentally shedding novel light on other branches of the inquiry. His treatise in the main is controversial, though the spirit which illuminates and the temper which regulates his arguments, rise very far above the level of ordinary polemics, and supply frequent indications of a mind habituated to expatiate at ease in the most airy regions of philosophy and the loftiest walks of ethical speculation.

Prof. Bledsoe is, indeed, admirably qualified by his intellectual tastes, his previous studies, his former labors, and the associations of his life for the discussion of the special department of research to which he has devoted his essay. He possesses pre-eminently the genius of polemics; he revels in the metaphysical conflicts and dialectical subtleties of philosophical controversy. He is acute, ingenious, perspicacious. He discerns at a glance the weak points of an adversary's argument; he distinguishes with equal promptitude between the true and false which are presented in plausible combination; he instinctively discerns a fallacy and at once discovers its refutation, either turning the artillery of the enemy against themselves, or disclosing the latent errors which had mislead their reasonings.

An author who had approved of his dexterity and depth by assailing, and assailing with success, the metaphysical and logical strength of Jonathan Edwards, who had grappled with the recondite enigma of the origin of evil, and tested his powers against Leibnitz and the other princes of philosophical theology, and who had been more than a match for McCosh, was almost certain of the victory when he buckled on his armor to attack the sophisms of Channing, Wayland, and Sumner. Prof. Bledson's tastes and habits and career have led him to dwell from predilection amid the thorny thicket of polemics; he delights in the stormy atmosphere of controversy; he is familiar with the habitat, the nature, and the manœuvres of error; and he pursues his game with a fresh appetite, and with the certainty of securing his prey. This confidence of victory gives a leisurely tranquillity to his movements, and perfect equability of temper in the midst of the most intricate disputes. He appears to be in no hurry to despatch his victim; but plays with it at his ease, exhibits it in all the tortuous postures into which it has been thrown by despair, compels it to put forth its utmost strength and cunning, but never suffers it to escape entirely from his grasp. He thus escapes all temptation to underrate, misconceive, or misrepresent an adversary; he gives him all the benefits which can be derived from the most favorable statement of his tenets; he sometimes even improves his arguments; but he does this only to make the victory more complete, and his own triumph more brilliant. We are not aware of any person in our country more accomplished or more dangerous in a logical encounter than Prof. Bledson; he has certainly won his honors hitherto in his various engagements with names much more eminent than he is compelled to attack in the present volume.

In addition to these general advantages with which he enters into the combat, Prof. Bledson has the further advantage of being equally at home at the North and at the South. Of Southern parentage and Southern birth, his education and his residence have been distributed between the two dissimilar sections of the Union; and he has had his opportunity, which would not be neglected by a mind as quick and observant as his, of studying the institutions of the free States and of the slave States on their own soil, and of contrasting together their spirit and effects. It may be a matter of regret that he has not deemed it expedient to draw more largely on the private stores of information which he must possess in regard to this contrast; but it is manifest that this avoidance of all digression, and this unusual abstinence from all collateral topics, add to the cogency of the sole argument which he has undertaken to evolve. Much more is gained by the rigid adherence to a

special chain of reasoning than is lost by withholding the subsidiary information, which, while gratifying our curiosity, might have distracted attention from the main thesis. The task which Prof. Bledsoe has proposed to himself is single and distinct. It is not his aim to pour out his whole budget of information, knowledge, and ratiocination—to say all that he might be able to say on the subject of liberty and slavery—but only to say so much, and no more, as may be necessary to demonstrate the vastness, the invalidity, the untenability of the allegations and calumnies of the more respectable members among the abolitionists—if there is respectability in wilful error and malignant wrong-doing. This essay is distinctly a polemical work: it has a restricted but definite aim, and what is unnecessary for the attainment of that aim, would be an excrescence on the argument. It is not a theory of liberty and slavery—this remains still a desideratum, but Prof. Bledsoe has not undertaken to supply it. It is not an estimation of the absolute merits of liberty and slavery respectively: this is an insoluble problem which Prof. Bledsoe is too acute and too discreet to handle, for the excellence of all social institutions depends upon circumstances, and varies with the condition of races and societies. It is not a comparison of the fruits of free and servile labor; this may enter partially into the argument, but it is not the main thesis. The object of the work is simply to repel the assaults of the abolitionists by refuting their reasoning. This is done most completely and conclusively: it is done with such signal success that not a thread of reason is left to support their vituperation of the South; but, if they still persist in maintaining the war of bitterness and abuse, as persist they will, they do it pertinaciously in despite of reason, and in obedience to the spirit of jealousy, malevolence, hostility alone. It is no slight service which is rendered to the Southern cause by thus reducing its opponents to the alternative of either discontinuing their warfare altogether, or protracting it on grounds equally at variance with good sense and good feeling.

The character of Prof. Bledsoe's work is thus purely and intentionally negative. He demolishes the batteries of the abolitionists: he does not undertake to construct the fortifications of the South. He carries the war vigorously into Africa: he does not directly contemplate the condition of affairs at home. When he has so ably achieved his avowed purpose, it would be an unreasonable complaint to object that he had not discussed topics which he never proposed to handle. The objection recoils upon the objector; it makes no impression on the author. He has left to others those branches of his subject which are not within the legitimate scope of his essay. No

man is sufficient to do justice to all parts of the vast question of Slavery; in its various ramifications there is ample employment for the diligence, the learning, and the abilities of all; and each does his full duty, if he adequately discusses the particular department, be it limited or extended, which he has selected for the field of his exertions. Tested by this rule, which is manifestly dictated by common sense as the only proper criterion of a polemical treatise, Prof. Bledson's essay is perhaps the most remarkable contribution which has been added to the literature of slavery. We know of no other work in the whole course of that literature which equals it in the steady adherence to the special object of its contemplation, in the methodical regularity with which all its approaches are made to the beleaguered fortress, in the perspicuity and cogency of the argumentation, and in the satisfactory completeness of the refutation offered.

Though the peculiar excellence of this work pre-eminently resides in the steady conduct of the reasoning, this is very far from being its only merit. We have already alluded to the admirable temper in which it is written—a temper so foreign to the habitual spirit of the abolitionists, so rare in works of controversy, so unusual, especially in the discussion of slavery. He sets out with the declaration that, "In the prosecution of such an inquiry, we intend to consult neither the pecuniary interests of the South nor the prejudices of the North; but calmly and immovably proceed to discuss, upon purely scientific principles, this great problem of our social existence and national prosperity, upon the solution of which the hopes and destinies of mankind in no inconsiderable measure depend. We intend no appeal to passion or sordid interest, but only to the reason of the wise and good."* In this temper he executes his task, never swerving to the right or to the left, unseduced by the abundant provocations offered to acrimony, untempted by the equally numerous opportunities for violent declamation. He performs his office with the coolness as well as with the logical precision of a mathematician engaged in the solution of a geometrical problem.

This equanimity and the punctilious observance of the requirements of his thesis, without regard to any thing lying beyond the prescribed domain, may, at times, produce the impression that the work is merely apologetic, and does not place the institution of slavery on sufficiently high and solid foundations. But this impression would be erroneous, for it is entirely disproved by the concluding sentences of the Introduction, which are as explicit and as decided as language can

* Liberty and Slavery, chap. i, p. 12.

be. "If our arguments and views are unsound, we hope he (the reader) will reject them. On the contrary, if they are correct and well-grounded, we hope he will concur with us in the conclusion that the institution of slavery, as it exists among us at the South, is founded in political justice, is in accordance with the will of God and the designs of his Providence, and is conducive to the highest, purest, best interests of mankind."* This is the ground on which the question of slavery should be placed; it should be removed from the sphere of mere temporary expediency and contingent propriety, and planted on the immutable rock of right and justice. But it is not necessary, after making this admission, and arguing from this point of view, to introduce at all times and under all circumstances this fundamental principle.

The style of this work is always vigorous and piquant—singularly clear, and frequently eloquent. It reveals the pen of a practised writer, and of a person of ardent and lively imagination. For a controversial publication it is most attractive reading. The ordinary dullness of polemical dissertation is entirely avoided—the attention is skillfully riveted to the development of the subject; and the interest is sustained without drooping from the commencement to the close. There are no far-fetched graces introduced—no caprices of either thought or expression, but it is composed throughout in terse, lucid, manly English, which illustrates the subject as fully as it gratifies the mind during its perusal.

The essay is confined to the refutation of the strongest charges adduced against slavery, but the concentration of effort to this distinct effect does not prevent the introduction of views which very far transcend the range of this controversy. He is compelled to investigate the foundations of liberty, in order to clear away the fallacies, delusions, and equivocations which have sprung from loose conceptions of its nature; and in this inquiry he is led to the apprehension of many important principles, which, if not entirely novel in themselves, are novel in their application, and are placed by him in a novel light. The first chapter is occupied with the examination of the nature of civil liberty. This is beginning the argument at the beginning, for unless there be a distinct and philosophical comprehension of the characteristics of liberty, there can be no philosophical estimation of those of slavery. The subject is a congenial one to the mind of the author, and displays his powers to advantage in the opening of his work. The re-examination of the nature of liberty was a suitable research for one who had already in his *Theodicy*, (*Theodicee*?)

* *Liberty and Slavery*, pp. 7-8.

Reason'd high
Of Providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate;
Fix'd fate, free-will, foreknowledge absolute]

It was only necessary to descend from the region of the abstract and metaphysical to that of the practical political. This is a transition, indeed rarely achieved with success, but it is happily accomplished by Mr. Bledsoe; his professional labor as a lawyer having rendered him as familiar with the practical application of principles as his speculative career has rendered him with their theoretical evolution.

Many errors have received their consecration and perpetuation from the graceful style and the juridical authority of Blackstone; and this has been peculiarly the case in regard to the fundamental principles of liberty and slavery. "Civil liberty" says the great commentator on the law of England, as quoted in this essay, "is no other than natural liberty so far restrained as is necessary and expedient for the general advantage." This postulate, which has usually been received without hesitation, and repeated with unsuspecting confidence in its truth, Prof. Bledsoe impugns. He shows that by the mode of its acceptance, gross inconsistency is involved in this definition, that it rests on a false idea of natural liberty; which is at one moment regarded as the choicest boon of Providence to man, at the next as wild and savage license;* and that by the tacit omission of the limitations imposed upon the original conception of its character, it is speedily regarded as "a power to act as one pleases, without the restraint or control of any law whatever, either human or divine;† hence leading by a necessary deduction to the state of nature advocated by Rousseau, and to all the orgies, the frenzy and the tyranny which sprung from the principles of the Genevan sophist. Instead of accepting the definitions of Blackstone, sustained as they are by the theories of Locke and the acquiescence of Burke, Mr. Bledsoe joins issue with him on these points, asserting that the moral law is equally obligatory in a supposed state of nature as in society,‡ that however, this law is in danger of being violated by the natural disposition of man to tyrannize over his fellow-man, unless it is enforced by material sanctions and that "civil society does not abridge our natural rights; but secures and protects them."§

By substituting a juster definition for civil liberty than has ordinarily been received, Prof. Bledsoe eliminates much of the confusion which has hitherto attended the discussion of the

* Liberty and Slavery, chap. i, §§ i-ii, pp. 12-16.

† Liberty and Slavery, chap. i, § ii, p. 16.

‡ Liberty and Slavery, chap. i, § iii, p. 27.

§ Liberty and Slavery, chap. i, § v, p. 30.

slavery question. If the natural rights of man are not curtailed, but extended, fortified, regulated, and confirmed by society, and are thereby guarded against the domineering spirit of the strong and the cunning, it is evident that civil liberty, as the term itself might have been sufficient to indicate, is a product of society, and not the mutilated remnant of a larger freedom previously enjoyed.* Accept this theory, and all the declamation about the original right of liberty, about the primeval equality of men, becomes vain twaddle, as impotent as it is inapposite. Accept this theory, and the foundations of political philosophy are laid upon a broader and firmer basis than they could heretofore boast. But we are still liable to be met with the stale objection of the inalienable rights of men—the common-place and the armory of the abolitionists. The abuse of this doctrine has not escaped the notice of Mr. Bledsoe. He proves briefly, but irresistibly, that society does possess and habitually exercise the power to restrict, control, and withdraw the supposed inalienable rights of life and liberty, for good and sufficient cause, in the pursuit of the general good;† and consequently, that “if it be shown that the public good, and especially the good of the slave, demands such a law, then the question of slavery is settled.”‡ The remaining and principal portion of the volume is occupied with the establishment of these conditions, and with applying the conclusions thus obtained to the casuistry of the abolitionists.

In this introductory chapter, which is one of great importance, and marked by consummate skill, the philosophy of the question is perspicuously laid down. The principles, by which the future controversy is to be decided, are thus fixed and published; and the decision of the question is simplified by contracting the investigation to a plain and limited issue. At the same time, by commencing the discussion with the criticism and determination of fundamental principles, the roots of error and the fibres of delusion are traced to their hiding places in the obscurity of speculative confusion; their plausibility is removed by this thorough exposure, and their entire eradication is facilitated. Nor would it be justice to Professor Bledsoe to overlook the fact, that in this research into the nature of liberty, his services are not limited to the defensive armor which he provides against the assaults of abolitionism, but they extend much further, and furnish the elements of a new and juster conception of the functions of society, and also of a more comprehensive and reasonable scheme of political philosophy.

* Liberty and Slavery, chap. i, § ii, p. 18; § iv, p. 30.

† Liberty and Slavery, chap. i, § vi, p. 36.

‡ Liberty and Slavery, chap. i, § vii, p. 41.

On many previous occasions we have remarked that the adequate investigation of the slavery question required and would necessitate the creation of a new system of political science; that there were fallacies involved with all the received maxims of political speculation, which alone gave strength to the representations of the abolitionists, but which assured to those representations general acceptance, until the popular errors had been removed by the careful re-examination and purification of political principles. The recent works of Mr. Fitzhugh and of Professor Bledsoe signally confirm the justice of our anticipations. They both rebel against the antiquated political doctrines; they both propound dogmas completely at variance with them, and inaugurate a new school of political speculation. We shall not compare the labors of these two gentlemen; their works scarcely admit of comparison, so different are they in spirit, in immediate purpose, in style, and in execution. Mr. Fitzhugh is replete with suggestions, though he scarcely presents a single position which would meet with many adhesions without previous modifications. Mr. Bledsoe, on the contrary, exhausts by his copious and methodical procedure the topics which he has appropriated to himself. He leaves nothing behind him—nothing to be desired within the range of his horizon. No doubts started by him remain without full satisfaction; and very few inquiries are suggested by him which he has not pursued to their legitimate results, and from which he has not himself extracted all the significance and juices which they contain.

It would prove as tedious as it is unnecessary to repeat the several arguments employed in a controversial work, to traverse again the successive stages through which Prof. Bledsoe advances to his final victory, and "to fight his battles o'er again." In an argumentative work of this complexion, it is impossible to appreciate the merits of the discussion without following the chain of the logic, and this chain is imperfect and unsatisfactory, if any of its links are omitted. In order to obtain from the Essay that instruction and gratification which it is admirably calculated to afford, it must be studied in its integrity, and in the language of the author, and not in any cursory abridgment of its reasoning. In its perusal frequent delight will be experienced in admiring the tenacious grasp with which the polemic seizes upon the prominent points of his adversary's doctrine, the dexterity with which he turns it about like clay in the hands of the potter, till it is divested of all disguises, and revealed in its nakedness, and then the ingenious ease with which its worthlessness and untenability are exposed. Mr. Sumner did not receive a more complete, or overwhelming castigation corporeally from the cane of Col. Preston Brooks than he sus-

tains intellectually from the dialectical tortures of Prof. Bledsoe. The enjoyment of witnessing the latter combat must be sought in the pages of this Essay on Liberty and Slavery; it cannot be communicated by any transference of its scenes to a critical notice. All the spirit of the contest would evaporate if separate parts were detached from the strictly concatenated evolution of the whole argument, and the flavor communicated to the controversy by the peculiar felicities of Prof. Bledsoe's manner and expression would be lost or become vapid if presented in any but the original combination.

All that criticism can safely undertake to do in attempting to appreciate a polemical essay, is to exhibit and estimate the principles and the method adopted in its conduct. These principles are fully contained in Prof. Bledsoe's initial chapter, in which he overturns the customary maxims relied upon by the antagonists of slavery, and introduces in their stead those tenets which have been already specified. He thus restricts the further progress of the inquiry to the refutation of arguments proved to be invalid by the application of these new principles, and to the demonstration of the proprieties and expediencies which justify the maintenance of slavery under certain circumstances, and particularly under those conditions which accompany its existence at the South. The abstract inquiry is completed in the first chapter of the work; the remaining chapters are occupied with adapting the blister thus coolly and deliberately prepared to the back of the most prominent abolitionists, and with confirming at the same time, and by the same procedure, the argument in favor of Southern slavery.

There is so much simplicity in the plan of Prof. Bledsoe's Essay, and there is also such methodical regularity in the development of his argument, that the titles of the few chapters into which the work is divided, furnish a complete insight into its character, and are at once the shortest and the most satisfactory abridgment of its contents that could be devised. Besides the logical distribution of the subject into separate chapters, each chapter is with equal care and precision subdivided into sections; and these sections are each supplied with its appropriate heading. An expeditious mode of reading the book, or of revising its doctrines is thus supplied, by comparing the table of contents with the rubrics of the sections; but if the bones and sinews of the argument might be in great measure thus obtained, they would constitute only the bare anatomy of the treatise; the flesh and blood, the life and the physiognomy of the argument would be sacrificed, and all the satisfaction lost which may be derived from the clear and racy elucidation of the several members of the disputation. There is nothing in the volume, neither deliberate expression nor

chance indication, to suggest that the preparation of a work for academical instruction was contemplated by the author; but no treatise could be more happily adapted to the function of implanting correct doctrines on the slavery question in the minds of students, and of guarding them in advance against the subtleties and lubricities of abolitionist sentiments and reasonings. A more comprehensive treatise might be easily prepared, and might be in some respects desirable; but this Essay on Liberty and Slavery would be of more immediate practical use, it would be more generally available, than any other work with which we are acquainted, and we have diligently read nearly everything which has been written on this feracious subject. Moreover, the perspicuity and stringency of Prof. Bledsoe's reasoning would prove a most salutary discipline to the minds of the young, and furnish an example for "the conduct of the understanding," which would be found a serviceable model of discussion in after life. We are not disposed to indulge in any extravagant laudations of this or any other work, but it possesses some characteristic excellences in which it has rarely been equalled, and these excellences are of the kind most valuable in a text-book.

Mr. Bledsoe's essay is divided into five chapters. Of these, the first, occupied with the discussion of the nature of civil liberty, is the most important for the philosophy of the general subject, and has therefore engaged our principal attention. The second chapter reviews and refutes the arguments and positions of the abolitionists, dealing patiently and separately with seventeen different fallacies in succession. The examination and the refutation are most complete. He drives them from one point to another, dislodging them from every stronghold to which they retire, raising their fortresses, and overwhelming them with his rapid and resistless fire. There is no respectable semblance of a tenable argument against slavery, founded upon general and abstract principles of right, which is not considered in its due order, and shown to be absurd, inconsistent, or nugatory. At times accepting their allegations and analyzing their significance, he shows that the principles on which the abolitionists most confidently rely are usually fatal to the conclusions which have been drawn from them by the logic of passionate malevolence. Thus, taking the vulgar assertion that slavery should be abolished because it is an injury to the slave, he calls Dr. Wayland's attention to the fact that the reason assigned for abolition is the assumption of the very point in dispute—a gross *petitio principii*.* Professor Bledsoe urges against this argument the doctrine which has been held

* Liberty and Slavery, chap. ii, § iv, pp. 55-58.

in all ages, from Aristotle and Cicero down to the present moment, by every intelligent advocate of slavery, that the institution is justifiable only when and so long as it is beneficial to the slave as well as to the slave-owner.* He observes with singular point, that Dr. Wayland himself is compelled, by the perplexities of his position, to renounce his objection, and in despite of it to sanction the maintenance of bondage so long as it enures to the advantage of the slave. No weapon has been directed against slavery with more pharisaic complacency, or with more sanctimonious fervour, than the Gospel precept, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." This commandment and its legitimate application are considered with reverent care, and it is found that a healthy exegesis detects therein no condemnation of slavery, but its actual approval; and that the interpretation imposed upon these words, which constitute the essence of the new law, is inconsistent with the maintenance of all law, order, and authority; that "all justice would be extinguished, all order overthrown, and boundless confusion introduced into the affairs of men."† The tendency of abolitionism to run into every heresy is abundantly shown by the hostility of the northern abolitionists to the Bible, by their proclivity to every form of social vice, by their appetency for communism in all its forms and extravagances. The premises from which they start, with the forced construction given to them, necessarily precipitate them into such immoral conclusions. An English abolitionist, in an elaborate work on the theory of society, declares "that to deprive others of their rights to the use of the earth, is to commit a crime inferior only in wickedness to the crime of taking away their lives or personal liberties."‡ This is abolitionism and agrarianism in the same breath—murder, slave-holding, and property in land are gravely placed in the same category of crime.

What has afforded us, however, the most sincere gratification in the thorough exposure of the fallacies of the abolitionists, is the effectual reply which is addressed to the commonplace denunciation of the conversion of the immortal soul of a fellow man into a mere chattel.§ Professor Bledsoe defends none of the abuses of slavery, but he makes it perfectly plain to every intelligence, not wilfully blinded by spleen, that slavery, however abused, has never laid any claim to the soul of

* "Est emin genus injusta servitutis quum hi sunt alterius, qui sui possunt esse; quum autem hi famulantur, qui sibi moderari nequeunt, nulla injuria est." Cic. De Rep. iii, xxv, § 22. The remarks of Aristotle have been often quoted by us elsewhere; the testimony of Cicero is less known.

† Liberty and Slavery, chap. ii, § vii, p. 78.

‡ Spencer's Social Statics, pt. ii, chap. ix, § 9, p. 124-5.

§ Liberty and Slavery, chap. ii, § x, pp. 86-102.

man, but only to his "labor and lawful obedience;" and that a man enslaved never is and never has been considered as a mere chattel. The right to the personal services and obedience of the slave is unquestionably a chattel interest; but this is all that is claimed, held, or transferred. And why is it a chattel interest? Simply to distinguish it from a real interest, which it certainly is not, except in the case of serfs of the glebe. A favorable opportunity was afforded of illustrating this subject, and removing the confusion in which it is involved, by the vague and popular usage of legal terms; and we regret that Mr. Bledsoe has not employed his professional knowledge for the purpose. The abolitionists are as little distinguished for learning as they are for logic; and we doubt whether many of them could tell, or whether any of them have distinctly conceived, what a chattel is. Their abuse of the term is exactly equivalent to that which would arise if the Latin term for money, *pecunia*, should be translated cows. The opprobrium conveyed by the expression is entirely due to the fact that cattle and chattel are the same words originally, but so also are capital and chapter; and that all sorts of personal property, the most trivial and the meanest as well as the most valuable, are included under the term chattels. The original term was capitale, capital property attached to the person of the owner, and not to the ownership of the land. This expression was abbreviated or corrupted into catalla, and chattels; and as nearly all property in the ages when this transformation took place consisted of live stock, the generic name became in vulgar usage identified with its especial application, and assumed the form and signification of cattle.* This is the history of the term; but in legal phraseology the generic meaning was retained, and has thence descended by a different channel into popular employment, as chattels. If we seek to express any property in man, or in the services of man, can we avail ourselves of any other phrase than a chattel interest? But this does not make the man a chattel, as Professor Bledsoe very satisfactorily explains, but the limited right to his services, under legal conditions and restraints, is a chattel interest, or a personal interest, simply because unconnected with lands. This explanation convicts the abolitionist of occupying themselves with empty declamations about a matter which they either cannot or will not understand.

The third chapter considers the argument from the Scriptures, and is divided into two sections, appropriated respectively to the argument from the Old and that from the New Testament. It is not the scriptural argument in favor of slavery that Mr.

* Vide Dubange. Gloss. Med. 8 Inf. Latin, sub voce Catallum.

Bledsoe undertakes to supply, but the scriptural argument against slavery which he professes to refute, and which he completely demolishes. It cannot be too distinctly borne in mind that this is controversial treatise purely; it never contemplates anything beyond the reasonings of the abolitionists, except when obliged to do so in order to discover the proof of their sophistry. Thus he brings into full view the authorization of slavery by the New Testament, while disproving the arbitrary and unwarrantable translation of the Greek word *δουλος*, as a hired servant.* Mr. Barnes, Mr. Sumner, and other abolitionists, it appears, had trusted so far to their passionate ignorance, or had presumed so far on the ignorance of others, as to hazard the bold assertion, that this term permitted us to regard the slaves spoken of in the New Testament as simply hired servants. A blunder or perversion so gross as this, appears to merit a very curt denial; but the mischief and delusion which may result from this misrepresentation justify the elaborate demonstration of the error; and this demonstration in its turn brings strongly into light the sanction extended to slavery by the Scriptures.†

The fourth chapter, still pursuing the polemical method, discusses the argument from the public good, and to many readers will prove to be the most interesting portion of the volume. The abolitionists continually contrast the rapid increase of population and wealth in the free States of the Union, with their more sedate march in the Southern, or slave-holding States, and thence infer that they have secured the testimony of fact and experience to the superior advantages, and therefore, to the superior propriety, of free institutions. If the common weal consisted of nothing but men and money, no matter what the condition and character of the former, or what the distribution and effects of the latter, there might be great force in this ratiocination. But social welfare is a much more complicated problem than this, and it would be difficult to establish the greater blessings of Northern as compared with Southern society, if the points of comparison were multiplied. This particular line of tactics is, however, disregarded by Mr. Bledsoe; he still restricts himself to a simple reply to the allegations of the abolitionists. He accepts the issue as presented and understood by his adversaries; and he responds very truly, that the question for the South to consider and for the North to argue, is not, whether slave or free institutions should be chosen if the option were now offered for the first time, "not what Vir-

* Liberty and Slavery, chap. iii, § ii, pp. 183-225.

† As the Abolitionists prefer discovering hired servants to acknowledging slaves in the New Testament, we commend to their consideration the character which is given to hirelings in the Gospels.

ginia, or Kentucky, or any other slave State might have been, but what they would be in case slavery were abolished.** To this inquiry he reduces the question, and then proceeds to exhibit the almost certain consequences of abolition by exposing the effects of emancipation in the British colonies,† and the manner in which it has ruined them. The testimonies employed in this delineation are extracted from the reluctant evidence of the friends of emancipation, and of the enemies of slavery. We were previously aware of the desolation, the indolence, and the crime which had spread over those lovely, fertile, and once wealthy regions; but the darkest traits of the picture were absent till we met with this careful compilation of statistics and details.‡ From these it is manifest that the blessings anticipated from emancipation in the British colonies have never been realized, and that a frightful desert, defiled by the brutal vices of lazy and licentious monsters, exists where rampant abolitionists would have us to believe that Paradise has been restored.§

Having thus collected from experience the actual lessons of the past, Mr. Bledsoe has obtained a thread to guide him through the probabilities of the future. He is not consigned to the delusive pilotage of vague conjecture. He can see, and is entitled to assert, that the consequences of abolition to the South,|| would be the annihilation of immense property, the ruin of agriculture and all industry, universal poverty and distress, bankruptcy and ruin, and most horrible civil war. All that had been gained by the efforts and labors of so many generations would be lost by a single change; and the "elevation of the blacks by Southern slavery,"¶ of which Southerners may rightfully be proud, would be exchanged for their hopeless degradation by a freedom for which they are unprepared. Thus the slavery which has been proclaimed as an injury to the negro is to him the greatest of blessings, and the freedom which is heralded as his birthright and as the sole requirement for his happiness, would only enure to his irretrievable wretchedness and ruin. Hence, the circumstances are such as justify, on the principles of the abolitionists themselves, the institution of slavery, and its continuance.

The fifth chapter on the Fugitive Slave Law,** fitly terminates Mr. Bledsoe's apology for the South; by replying to Messrs.

* Liberty and Slavery, chap. iv, § i, p. 228.

† Liberty and Slavery, chap. iv, § ii, pp. 229-257.

‡ Liberty and Slavery, chap. iv, § iii, pp. 257-267.

§ Liberty and Slavery, chap. iv, § iv, pp. 268-284.

|| Liberty and Slavery, chap. iv, § v, pp. 284-291.

¶ Liberty and Slavery, chap. iv, § vi, pp. 292-300.

** Liberty and Slavery, chap. v, pp. 301-383.

Seward and Sumner, by removing the objections alleged against the execution of this necessary provision, and by exhibiting and enforcing the duties of a good citizen to the Constitution of the country. This part of his task is achieved with the same ability and conclusiveness with which the remainder of the work is executed, but it requires no further comment.

A treatise as consecutively developed and as rigidly connected as this is, cannot be appreciated adequately by any criticism, however conscientious and observant; it must be studied in extenso. Extracts, abridgements, and comments are little more than the description of a house by offering a few of the bricks of which it is composed as a specimen. The book must be read, and ought to be read, and this is its highest commendation.

OVERSEERS AT THE SOUTH.

OVERSEERS.—No. I.

A good deal of consultation, at various times, with some of the best farmers of the State, some observation, and some experience, both pleasant and bitter, has given us impressions in the matter of overseers, which we will now communicate to our friends for what they are worth.

If, as Von Thaer tells us, "the practice of agriculture is composed of an infinite number of different occupations, each of which appears easy in itself but is the more difficult to execute, inasmuch, as they frequently seem to interfere with and run counter to one another," if, "in order to regulate them according to the circumstances and powers that are at our disposal, so that no single one shall be neglected, but each performed properly and in its due order, there is required the greatest attention; activity without anxiety; promptitude without precipitation; a care of the whole united to the strictest attention to the most minute details; a judicious appreciation of all that is more or less necessary; and of that which belongs to different periods of time; an unremitting perseverance in whatever is undertaken, but which, however, does not lead to the neglect of more pressing duties; a prudent estimate of the value of labor and of time, so as to employ them to the best advantage;" if so intricate a combination of the circumstances which always encompass the proprietor of an estate demands a corresponding combination of qualities for their complete control, then it is evident that the overseer on a Southern plantation, like the steward of an English estate, requires the same combination in hardly a less degree. He is to the plantation what the mate is to the merchantman, and if he does not understand so well the principles of navigation, and is not entitled to the control

of the ship, he must, nevertheless, be able to guide the vessel, to command the sailors, to manage the cargo, and to keep every thing ship-shape, and to exemplify the subordination which it is his duty to enforce on others.

Though all the duties of an overseer relate to the owner of an estate, yet, for convenience in discussion, they may be divided into, 1, his duties to the master; 2, to the negroes; 3, to the animals, and impliments; 4, to the crops; and, 5, to the land itself.

The overseer has rights, too, as well as duties, which we shall not neglect to notice incidentally.

1. Subordination to the master is the first of an overseer's duties. Many of them think, and we have heard of their saying, that the master shall not do so and so with them. They thereby intend to define the limits of their obedience. Whether this originated in the wretched custom that once prevailed extensively, of giving an overseer a share of the crops, and leaving him to make them in his own way; whether it arises from a morbid feeling of manliness, or from a sense of social inferiority which suspects a foe in every man of higher rank or greater wealth, this recusancy is a great mistake.

The overseer who consents to serve an employer that he thinks will treat him as a menial, wants respect for himself, and cannot, therefore, command it from others. His entrance upon such service is a voluntary degradation which no amount of after rebellion can efface, to which, indeed, rebellion must add the additional fault of faithlessness to his contract; for it cannot be supposed that he would be employed if he should announce beforehand that he reserved the privilege of insubordination. A man who enters an army agrees to obey implicitly and without question the order of his superior; the chain of authority binds every man, from the privates to the generals; but it never occurs to the proudest of them that he surrenders the very manhood which leads him to the cannon's mouth, when he gives up his freedom of action and does automatically every bidding of an other. The very fact, if it exists, that his superior in rank is his inferior in worth or capacity, but increases the merit of submission by proving the subordinate equally a man in fortitude and in action. Subordination is not subjection: it is founded in the necessity of the case, not the whim of the master—in principle, and not in temper. For the same reason that the husband is allowed to rule the wife, the master must rule the overseer. There cannot be two heads; and he who owns the property, bears all its burdens, and takes all its risks and responsibilities, must have the entire control, and a discretion of delegating it in such way and proportion as may suit himself. On it depends not only the arrangement of details and the

consistency of plan, but especially the subjection of the negro, the freedom from infinite trouble and vexation with him, and often the life of either overseer or negro, or both, and the future happiness and success of the overseer himself, and the welfare of his family. He may rely on it that no proprietor, with a proper sense of his rights and obligations, will surrender this condition; and if pride or temper will not permit him to accept it cheerfully and to the full extent, he had better not undertake the business of an overseer, for he will find it full of annoyance.

Nor does subordination to authority imply submission to rudeness. If we were all of us anxious to deserve courtesy rather than eager to enforce it, we would have more of it. In the long run, every man's deportment secures him such consideration as he deserves, and those who mean to earn a good name need not fear "the proud man's scorn." A gentleman, or a man of proper feelings, will treat all around him with respect and kindness which is their due, and there is every reason why he should so deport himself towards his overseer. It may chance that amid the anxieties of business, a rude word or an angry comment may, at times, escape him, just as the overseer, at times, gives way to a similar infirmity; but in the main he will be considerate. If the overseer deserves it, he will look on him as a man entitled to civility, and will set him the example of good behavior. It is the readiest mode by which he can secure the same demeanor; and his interest, if not his amiability, will prompt him to keep on the best terms with one to whom so much is confided. If it does not, better part than quarrel. But civility is, in fact, so far the rule, that most overseers, we are sorry to say, are spoiled, and very few live more than two, or at the most three years, with the same employer. A disposition to avoid angry and unpleasant colloquies, and to overlook faults and tolerate relaxation from rules, to concede privileges, to submit to small abuses of administration and usurpations of power, in those whoseem, in the main, to have our interest at heart, is generally carried so far that in the time specified the overseer is turned off, and a new one runs the same course of indulgence to the same end. For this the owner is as much to blame as the overseer. He forgets that it is in the very nature of agents to abuse trust; lawyers, the most elevated class of agents in the community, require watching and pushing, as much as any others; and it should not occasion great surprise or blame if a lower class yields to even greater temptations, under a relaxation of discipline.

We have dwelt at some length on this point, because here is the beginning of much of the evil that results from the relation we are treating of.

THE BRITISH SYSTEM OF RAILROADS.*

It shown that English railroad stocks yield about 2 per cent. on the invested capital. Only two very short lines bring over 7 per cent. In France, the Northern and Eastern railroad yielded in the year 1855, 15 per cent.; the Lyons, and the Lyons and Mediterranean railroads 16 per cent.; the Orleans line 15½ per cent.; the Western railroad 15 per cent. The entire length of the French railroads is 2,880 English miles. The cost £58,000,000, and their gross income last year amounted to about £9,848,000, about 14 per cent. of which was clear gain.

If we compare the six principal railroad lines of France with the six principal lines of England—namely, the London, the Northwest, the Great Western, the Great Northern, the Midland, the Lancashire and Yorkshire, and the Northeastern—we see that their length is 2,660 miles, built at a cost of £122,000,000, consequently more than double the cost of the French lines, though they are only two hundred miles longer. The gross receipts are nearly the same, namely, £9,785,000. Hence it is clear that the capital in English railroad stocks brings only 34 per cent. The capital invested in English railways is estimated to be £300,000,000, in France £100,000,000, in the United States £150,000,000.

Even in the United States, where, at the close of the year 1855, there were about 23,384 miles of railroad, the receipts have diminished. The gross receipts during the past year of the 3,216 miles in the State of New York, which cost \$125,000,000, were only \$20,843,385. Though they yield nearly 7 per cent., they are considered a bad investment in a State where capitalists can get far higher interest for their money.

In Germany and Austria are numerous railroads, which yield over 10 per cent. Among them are the Cologne and Minden, the Leipzig, Magdeburg, the Ferdinands, Northern Line, and several others. Still more numerous are the railroads which yield 6, 7, 8, or 10 per cent.

These results show that the English railroads yield the smallest, and the French the largest per centage on the capital invested. We may, as a general rule, say that English lines of railway are too expensively constructed; still, it is not always so. The Belfast line cost £13,839 a mile, and the London and Blackwall £283,818. The principal railroad lines in England cost between £30,000 and £31,000 a mile. In France they constructed 54 miles of road for the same money that in England was expended on 40 miles, and in England 54 miles yield only as much as 42 miles in France.

* From the Augsburg Zeitung.

This hopeless condition of the British railroads induced a reaction in the past month. In England, railroad profits have been diminished by too great a rivalry. The parallel lines have tried to ruin each other, and for the most part they have succeeded. A company, consequently, has been formed for promoting the interests of the British railways. The different companies have united their interests, and will wage no more war with each other. As it is they will find ways enough to rob the public. Even in England, travelling by railroad is by no means cheap. The first class of the English and French lines can scarcely be compared, as to comfort and luxury, to our second class. The luxury of our first class carriages, as on the Aix-la-Chapelle line in Bavaria, and on some of the Prussian railroads, is not to be found in England or France, and still less in Belgium, where the second class is scarcely to be compared with our third.

Railroad travelling in England is nearly three times as dear as on the continent. Season tickets in England are issued at a cheap rate. The company issues season tickets to persons for a certain distance, on which they may make two trips a day. These tickets are mostly taken up by persons who have business in the large cities, London, Liverpool and Manchester. They leave their homes early in the morning, and return after business hours. It would take nearly twice as much time if they lived in some remote part of London to go to their business place, and they would even spend more money in omnibuses, etc. They prefer to live a few miles out of the city, near a railroad. We are, therefore, not surprised to see that in the year 1854, no less than 11,000,000 of persons arrived at the several railroad depots in London. 36,000 season tickets would be enough to make up this number.

The small profits of the English railroads is not to be accounted for by low fares for passengers or freight. There are other more important causes. The best fruits are eaten up by the so-called railway locusts. In this class of insects are to be reckoned, first, the directors, then the members of Parliament, the engineers, the gamblers in stocks, and, in general, the whole body of honorable sharpers. The directors gamble in stocks on the Merchants' Exchange, and in their hands are all the interest of the line. Is it astonishing that they make money and sometimes lose it, or is it to be wondered at that railroad securities are at such a discount in England? Says the Economist, in one of its late numbers: "To gain money man may risk life and honor, but he who has railways to manage can make a fortune at the expense of shareholders without risking either. It has happened that directors have fraudulently appropriated sums like £80,000 to buy their own shares,

or have appropriated large sums of money and accounted for it under the head of 'sundries.'"

In the year 1845 the railroads yielded from 8 to 10 per cent. These profits gradually fell from 10 to 5, from 8 to 4, from 9 to 3½ per cent. on the capital invested, in spite of the increase of freight and passengers. This is owing to the secondary railway lines. These lines were generally so constructed as to be of use to the two principal lines. They were advertised for sale, and as each of the principal lines wished to acquire them, enormous sums were offered and paid for them. Of course, the profits of the principal line were thereby proportionately diminished. But great swindles were effected in the matter of dividends. Expenses which should have been paid from the profits were paid out of the capital. The amount so abstracted was not replaced, and purchases were made at long periods to avoid payment. This, naturally enough, gave higher, although imaginary, dividends; the shares were coming up, the directors sold their shares and pocketed the gains. The only persons taken in were the simple shareholders, who believed in high dividends. Large sums were paid to land-owners as indemnity for expropriation.

In this way the companies had to pay from £4,000 to £8,000 a mile for land. In one case £120,000 was paid for a tract of land which was valued at £5,000. A land owner once demanded £80,000 for his land, but finding rivals in the business, he ceded it for £80. The engineers were in many cases in the pay of these interested land owners. Even among members of Parliament these railway locusts were to be found. To have influence in the House of Commons, the companies elected members of Parliament as directors, and there are now no less than eighty-one directors members of Parliament. A goodly share of the profits is made way with by lawyers and attorneys. We know a case where six of those locusts divided among themselves £57,000; and lately it was shown that a company had paid £480,000 for court and Parliament fees in the space of nine years. It should be borne in mind that the fees of witnesses before Parliament are six guineas a day.

But the real root of all these evils lies in the fact that the interests of the shareholders are wholly under the control of the directors. These latter are generally good speech-makers, and are seldom opposed by the share-holders, for obvious reasons. Such are some of the ways of fortune in England. In America, the same evils, to some extent, are to be found, but the Americans are less timid, and they are very energetic in remedying abuses. England is now chequered with railways, but the English have paid dearly for the experiments, by which the two continents have profited.

GROWTH AND CONSUMPTION OF COTTON.*

CORRECTED STATEMENT OF THE GROWTH AND CONSUMPTION OF COTTON, FOR TEN YEARS, FROM 1845 TO 1855; ACCOMPANIED BY REMARKS, SHOWING THEIR RELATIVE RATES OF INCREASE.

The comparative supply and consumption of cotton have, of late, assumed an interest that renders some conclusion desirable, by which these relations can be determined, if only proximately. The elements which enter into the solution of this question are very complex. The relative costs of cultivation in different countries; the tenure of land and the revenue system of those parts of British India which form, next to the United States, the largest source of supply; the state of intercommunication between the cotton regions and the seacoast; these, with other constituents of the problem, render it one of much intricacy. The subject naturally assumes three divisions: 1. The comparative rate of increase in the supply and consumption, at antecedent periods. 2. The comparative rate of future increase. 3. The causes which facilitate or retard that increase. It is necessary to this inquiry that we should embrace a period, or periods, of sufficient length to exclude the influence of disturbing causes of partial or temporary operation. Decennial periods are most convenient for this purpose. In an article prepared by us and published in the Charleston Courier, May 31, 1845, the history of the cotton trade is traced back to 1800, divided into periods of 15 years, and brought down to 1845.

The results reached in that article were, that the growth had, down to 1845, outrun the consumption. The annual average increase in the growth was a fraction over $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., embracing the period from about 1830 to 1845. The annual average increase in the consumption was a fraction under 6 per cent. The growth had, therefore, exceeded the consumption down to 1845; but from indications of the gradual diminution of the rate of supply of United States cotton, and the steady, regular increase in the consumption generally, the following conclusions were drawn: 1. That in three years the equilibrium between supply and consumption would be recovered. 2. That in 1845 we had reached the maximum rate of production in the United States. Both branches of this prediction were verified. It is unnecessary therefore to ascend further back in our comparison than 1845.

* A pamphlet Report on Cotton has been issued from the State Department at Washington. We shall have occasion to refer to it, and make some extracts hereafter.—[EDITOR.]

Comparative Rate of Increase in Supply and Consumption, bet'n 1845 and 1856.

YEAR.	U S. Crop. *	Foreign Supply.	Total. *	Decimal of increase or decrease.	Consum'n in Europe. *	Consum'n in the U. S.*	Total. *	Decimal of increase or decrease.
1845	2,294	461	2,855		2,856	289	2,745	
1846	2,100	516	2,416	D 15.35	2,228	422	2,745	
1847	1,779	481	2,260	D 6.46	1,745	431	2,166	D 21.09
1848	2,159	401	2,560	I 13.25	2,159	534	2,693	I 24.42
1849	2,729	588	3,367	I 27.62	2,477	518	2,997	I 11.25
1850	2,697	747	2,844	D 12.95	2,451	494	2,945	D 1.74
1851	2,355	680	3,035	I 6.73	2,615	406	3,024	I 2.75
1852	3,015	789	3,754	I 23.69	3,112	608	3,720	I 23.01
1853	3,268	882	4,145	I 10.41	3,013	691	3,704	D 0.43
1854	2,998	765	3,698	D 10.90	3,116	607	3,723	I 0.51
1855	2,847	940	3,787	I 2.55	3,316	598	3,909	I 5.90
Total 10 yrs.	25,272	6,459	31,761		26,320	5,294	31,626	
Or average.	2,527	649	3,176	I 11.24	2,633	529	3,162	I 15.19

Or increase of consumption 3.95 over total supply.

* These figures express thousands of bales.

[The error in the former table occurred in taking from the Liverpool Annual Statements, from which we copied our figures, those figures including the exports of Great Britain to the continent of Europe, and which, of course, appear in the consumption of France, &c., but in making our corrected statement of the total consumption, it is not known to what extent that of the Baltic, Russia, &c., is included. This, of course, also accounts for the error in stating the per centage of increase in the total consumption, which was founded on the aggregate of that consumption. With regard to the per centage of increase in the supply, as stated in the former table, 9.77 per cent., it was accurate as regards the *total* supply, the foreign portion of that supply having increased *in rate* greatly beyond that of the United States, within the last ten years, as will be seen on reference to the tables, but as the foreign supply forms in the *aggregate*, the proportion of only one-fourth of the total supply, any estimate looking to the future, comparing the growth with the consumption, must be founded on the supply from the United States, as constituting much the larger proportion of the whole aggregate. It will be borne in mind that all such estimates, deduced from comparison of the supply and consumption for longer or shorter periods, are based on probability, and are, at the best, conjectural.]

The large *aggregate* increase in the supply naturally led to a diminution in the *rate*. The consumption has no other check, supposing prices not too much enhanced, than inability in the power to purchase and consume. The productive powers are restrained by a number of causes—by a bad tenure of land, by heavy taxation, and an insufficient supply of labor.

We have, in the above comparison, taken the number of bales, and not allowed for the increased weight, as we are not comparing periods of growth, except for the purpose of illustrating the supply as compared with the consumption.

We annex the United States supply with the total consumption for the last ten years.

<i>U. S. Crop.</i>	<i>Consumption of the World.</i>
1845.....2,394	2,745
1846.....2,100	2,745
1847.....1,779	2,166
1848.....2,159	2,693
1849.....2,729	2,997
1850.....2,097	2,945
1851.....2,355	3,024
1852.....3,015	3,720
1853.....3,263	3,704
1854.....2,928	3,723
1855.....2,847	3,909
25,272	31,626
Or an average of.....2,527	3,162
Increase on 2,394 in 1845,* 5.55 per cent.	
Increase on 2,745 in 1845.....	15.19
Taking instead of 10, only 5 years, say 1846-50—	
U. S. crops,....10,864	Total consumption,.....13,546
Or an average of....2,173	2,709
Decrease as compared with 1845, (2394), 9.36 per cent.	
Decrease as compared with 1845, (2745), 1.31.	
Or in 1851-55, the U. S. crops were .. 14,408	Total consumption, 18,080
Or an average of.....2,881	3,616
Increase on the average of the 5 former years, when it was 2,173, ..	32.60
or, in 1845, when it was 2,394	20.34
Increase on the average of the 5 former years, when it was 2,709, ..	33.48
or, in 1845, when it was 2,745	31.73

We have given above the United States supply for the last ten years, as confirmatory of our conclusion in 1845, that it had reached its maximum rate of increase, the average for the fifteen years before 1845 being a fraction over $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum, and for the period between 1845 and 1855, 5.55 per cent. annually, as compared with the crop of 1845. The average increase in the rate of consumption of the world, within this latter period, has been 15.19 per cent., a difference between the rate of United States supply and total consumption of nearly ten per cent. per annum in favor of the latter.

* We have taken a single year, 1845, as a point of comparison. It would have varied the result a little if we had taken an average of three years previous to 1845, the difference between the single year 1845, and the average of three years being 100,000 bales. The comparison being one merely for illustration, the difference is not material.

In taking shorter periods for comparison, say 5 years, from 1846 to 1850 inclusive, and 1851-55 inclusive, it will be seen that there has been a decrease in United States cotton, in the former period, compared with 1845, of 9.36 per cent., while there was also a decrease in the total consumption, for the same period, compared with 1845, of 1.31 per cent. There was an increase in the United States supply from 1851-55 as compared with 1845-50 of 32.60; and in the total consumption of 33.48, or compared with 1845 of 20.34 in the supply and 31.73 in the consumption. These results show great differences as longer or shorter periods are taken for comparison, a period of ten years, 1845-55, exhibiting a difference of nearly ten per cent., while one of five years, 1845-50, a decrease in both supply and consumption, the former larger by 8 per cent. than the latter, while in the five years, 1850-55, a near equality between their rates of increase appears. We have given both periods of comparison that readers may form their own conclusions.

2. PROBABLE RATE OF FUTURE SUPPLY AND CONSUMPTION.—

We have seen that the average rate of increase of United States cotton between 1845 and 1855 has been 5.55 per cent. per annum, and for the consumption, in the same decennial period, 15.19 per cent. annually; but that for the last five years the United States rate of supply and that of the total consumption have been respectively 32.60 and 33.48. The question naturally arises, can the supply possibly increase in the same ratio as the consumption has augmented within the last four years? The reply must be in the negative. The consumption appears, so far, to have kept pace with the United States crops, in the relative rates of increase, to a remarkable extent, as four heavy crops have successively been made, and the fifth will probably prove the largest ever grown. The effect has not yet been felt, however plainly apparent, of the increased and increasing consumption. The greatest proof of the relative diminution in the ratio of increase in supply, is the fact that notwithstanding the unprecedentedly large crop of the present season, the stocks everywhere, at the end of this season, will most likely be smaller than ever known. Having had for the last five years, this season included, the heaviest crops in the United States ever known, say an annual average increase over the preceding five years of 32 per cent., which enormous increase has been entirely absorbed in the increased consumption, from what source can the additional supply, which will be required, be obtained? The production of this year is in excess of any previous year 300,000 bales. There is every probability of its being entirely consumed, leaving at the end of the year 1855 as reduced a stock every-

where as was ever known in the history of the cotton trade, and that the heavy stock of the end of the season of 1845 has been consumed in spite of five heavy crops.

3. THE CAUSES WHICH FACILITATE OR RETARD CONSUMPTION AND SUPPLY.—The interior of Europe is daily enlarging the sphere of cotton consumption. Russia and Germany are requiring larger supplies. The war has widened the market for British cotton fabrics in the Levant. The people living on the shores of the Danube and Black Sea since the freedom of those seas has been secured, having a vent for their raw products, will become extensive consumers of cotton goods. These circumstances must give a yearly increased stimulus to the consumption of cotton. The causes which temporarily derange the relations of demand and supply, neutralize each other in decennial and sometimes shorter periods. Short crops and high prices, which limit, and excessive supplies, with low prices, which stimulate consumption, cannot countervail in their operation the influence of that general law which regulates and controls the value of an article of such general consumption as cotton. The circle of increase cannot be contracted except in the failure of purchasing power by those who consume textile fabrics, while the producing ability of those who grow this staple finds a boundary in the diminution of labor adapted to its cultivation.

The question of future supply is more complex. Its two great sources are the United States and British India. In the former as regards land, one of the elements of productive power, there is an absence of monopoly. The soil is easy of acquisition and transfer; settlement is rapid. It has to sustain few burdens.

In British India land is subject to a fixed tenure. A settlement made 1793 by the Marquis of Cornwallis, then Governor General, was declared to be perpetual. By this settlement the ryot or cultivator was entitled to only one moiety of the produce, the Zeminder or collector of the rent being the nominal proprietor, and paying nine-tenths to the government, receiving the other half. The effect of this arrangement is that the soil is cultivated in a slovenly manner, while the holdings range only from six to twenty-four acres each. There can be little accumulation of capital, therefore, on the land in British India. With the aid of British agricultural skill and capital, its capabilities will no doubt be as fully developed as is compatible with the artificial and obstructive arrangements of an old country, inhabited by a semi-barbarous and impoverished people. Still a certain stimulus, of late years, has been given to the cotton culture in India, the produce in cotton having augmented

within the last five years 64 per cent. It remains to be seen whether the incentives will be sufficiently strong to induce the British capitalist to invest so largely in the soil of British India as to add extensively to its productive powers and the supply of cotton.

As relates to another impediment to the largest development of agricultural resources, in the want of good roads, it is thought that within the next five years the whole of British India will be intersected by railroads, bringing its most remote inland districts into communication with its ports of exportation.

With regard to labor, the other important element of productive power, British India has greatly the advantage of the United States, from its density of population. Low wages afford to the cultivator a compensation for the burdens imposed on the land, in the form of an exorbitant rent or tax. Still there is an offset to this advantage in the degradation of the population and the want of material comforts. The scanty remuneration of the laborer leaves little to be expended on clothing after the wants of mere subsistence have been supplied. And it needs no illustration to show, that in the exchange of commercial equivalents between countries a permanent as well as profitable intercourse is best maintained by the consumers of manufactures who have a large instead of a small surplus of raw produce, after the necessities of life have been secured, in exchange for those manufactures. In other words, that British India can never present, under the most favorable circumstances of improvement, the same facilities to agricultural development and reciprocal interchange of products as have characterized the commerce of the United States with Europe since cotton has formed the principal element of that commerce.

In the United States we will soon have reached the limit to a ready command of labor for the cotton culture. A more expensive outlay gradually encroaches on capital devoted to that culture. The price of field hands has risen nearly 100 per cent. in five years. The ratio of increase in the slave population is lessening. In the decennial periods ending 1830, 1840, and 1850, the annual average of increase was $5\frac{1}{2}$, $4\frac{1}{2}$ and $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for these periods respectively. We thus see that the causes which limit production have been gradually operating for the last ten years, while consumption has been as progressively enlarging its boundaries, and that while the maximum rate of production has been long since attained, the consumption has no assignable point of limitation, but extends with the expansion of general commerce and the spread of civilization.

We annex the statement made by us in May 31, 1845, of the supply and consumption to that date, for several previous years, for convenient reference.

*Statement of the increase in the growth
of United States Cotton.*

Season.	Ann'l Increase.	Ann'l Average.
1827-28	712,000	
1828-29	858,000	
1829-30	978,000	914,800
1830-31	1,039,000	986,200
1831-32	987,000	1,055,800
1832-33	1,070,000	1,111,000
1833-34	1,205,000	1,175,400
1834-35	1,254,000	1,262,600
1835-36	1,361,000	1,408,800
1836-37	1,423,000	1,440,000
1837-38	1,801,000	1,624,800
1838-39	1,361,000	1,676,600
1839-40	2,178,000	1,728,000
1840-41	1,620,000	1,844,520
1841-42	1,684,000	1,978,400
1842-43	2,379,000	2,107,000
1843-44	2,030,400	2,244,000

The annual average increase is equal to a very small fraction over $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. down to 1843-44.

Consumption in Europe and the United States.

Season.	Annual Increase.	Annual Average.
1828	829,000	
1829	877,000	
1830	880,000	932,800
1831	1,016,000	985,000
1832	1,063,000	1,050,200
1833	1,090,000	1,125,000
1834	1,203,000	1,190,400
1835	1,254,000	1,254,800
1836	1,343,000	1,364,400
1837	1,384,600	1,400,000
1838	1,638,000	1,528,000
1839	1,381,000	1,595,600
1840	1,894,000	1,670,000
1841	1,681,000	1,745,200
1842	1,756,000	1,867,000
1843	2,014,400	1,989,000
1844	1,990,000	2,109,000

The annual average increase is a small fraction under 6 per cent.

CHARLESTON, JUNE 14, 1856.

SLAVERY IN CHINA.

The following appeared in the *National Era*, May 8, 1856 :

To trace the history of Slavery in the Chinese Empire, where it has existed from a very early period, would be a tedious and unprofitable undertaking, and it will be sufficient to state a few facts which are gleaned from the few sources to which we may look for information on this subject.

The word *nu* (slave) is traced back twelve centuries B. C. The first slaves were prisoners taken in war, and next persons sold by their parents who had been reduced to poverty by wasting wars. About two hundred years before Christ, slavery was legalized. Under the Han dynasty, rebels and criminals were made slaves to the State, and the Emperor Kingti (168 B. C.) condemned the inhabitants of seven revolted provinces to this condition. Under the Tang dynasty, (A. D. 620,) rebels and their families were sentenced to be slaves of the State. Under the Sung (A. D. 1000) and following dynasties, prisoners were transported to Tartary, and the Government ceased to maintain slaves within its borders.

At various times, great numbers have been set free by Imperial decrees, and distributed to thinly inhabited provinces.

Under the present, called the "Tai Tsing," or eminently pure dynasty, rebels are beheaded, and their families given to officers for slaves. Although slavery is not named in the existing laws as a punishment, yet those transported to Tartary are condemned to hard labor in iron and salt mines, which is worse than ancient slavery.

The great majority of persons now in servitude is composed of those who have sold themselves, or have been sold by their parents on account of poverty and want. All the causes which in peace or war can bring persons to destitution are constantly operating on multitudes of this densely crowded population, and children are sold daily, although the law forbids free persons to be sold, even with their own consent.

The laws of the present dynasty on slavery are rigid, as an abstract of them will show:

"Every slave who purposely strikes his master shall be beheaded, without distinction in this crime of principal or accomplices. All slaves designedly killing or striking with a design to kill their masters, shall suffer death by a slow and painful execution. All slaves who accidentally kill their masters shall be strangled, after having been imprisoned the usual time. Every slave who shall accidentally wound his master, shall suffer one hundred blows, and perpetual banishment to the distance of three thousand li, (1,000 miles,) and they cannot redeem themselves from punishment by the payment of a fine, as the law allows in ordinary cases." Sec. 314.

"A slave striking a freeman, shall, proportionally to the consequences, be punished one degree more severely than is by law provided in similar cases between equals. If the blow produces entire disability and incurable infirmity, the offender shall be strangled. If death ensues, the offender shall be beheaded." Sec. 313.

"A slave soliciting and obtaining the daughter of a freeman in marriage, shall be punished with eighty blows, and, if the master of the slave consents thereto, he shall suffer punishment less by two degrees. * * * The marriage shall be null and void, and the parties replaced in the ranks they had respectively held in the community." Sec. 115.

"A slave guilty of addressing abusive language to his master shall suffer death, by being strangled at the usual period." Sec. 327.

"The slaves of any family, accusing, whether truly or falsely, the master thereof, or any of his relations within four degrees, shall be punished with one hundred blows, and three years banishment, if the accusation is true, and shall be strangled if false." Sec. 337.

The above laws are sufficiently severe to make a part of any "black code," but it is to be remarked that in the matter of justice they contain full as much as the majority of the laws which apply to the whole population of the Empire.

There are a few clauses which are designed to protect the slave :

"If, in the case of a slave having been guilty of theft, adultery, or any other similar crime, his master or some of his nearest relations privately beat to death such slave, instead of complaining to a magistrate, the person who so offends shall be punished with one hundred blows." Sec. 314.

The same section provides, that if a slave, not guilty of crime, is beat to death, "the wife or husband, as well as the children of such deceased slave, shall be thereupon entitled to their freedom."

Notwithstanding the severity of these laws, they are perhaps seldom executed, and those who are in servitude enjoy as much immunity from oppression as others in the lower ranks. In ordinary times, it is those from whom money can be extorted that suffer from the zeal of officers to execute the laws.

Since master and slave are both of the same race, there is no line of separation, as in the case of African slavery, and the slave is received into the family, faring as other members.

The price of labor is reduced so much by competition, that it is in most cases unprofitable to keep slaves; and it is doubtless true, that comparatively few persons are kept in servitude for the sake of their labor. The buying and selling of persons is a very common transaction, but for other purposes than reducing them to slavery. Parents sell their children generally to get rid of the expenses and burden of raising them.

Boys are bought by persons who have no male offspring, and become in reality adopted sons; for it is exceedingly important that every man shall have a son to worship at his tomb.

Female children are bought to be educated for concubines, and sold as such when they arrive at a suitable age. Young and attractive girls often bring several hundred dollars; and it is likely that this species of barter in human beings is the most common. It is not always the case that the girl is sold against her will; for the man, having no choice about his first or principal wife, often chooses a second wife, or concubine, for whom he has a real affection; and although she is subordinate and subject to the first wife, yet the children of both are equal in the eye of the law.

COTTON SEED OIL, AND OTHER PRODUCTIONS OF THE REFUSE OF THE COTTON PLANT.

In an article, which we published in our paper last fall, we stated that the manufacture of oil from cotton seed had been commenced by the proprietors of one of our oil mills. The business is being carried on very successfully, and the oil is coming into general use.

Edgar Conkling, of Cincinnati, has now in operation a series of successful experiments, not only in reference to a new and simple mode of extracting the oil in its pure state from cotton seed, but as regards the application of the residue of the seed, after the oil is extracted, to other important and useful purposes. The matter is fraught with importance, and if Mr. Conkling's theory, contained in the following communication which we find in the New Orleans *Picayune*, be correct, and of which we can have but little doubt, we hope it will be fully developed in this city. We have the men and the capital to do it, if it can be done, beyond a doubt, says the Cincinnati Price Current.

Mr. Conkling says: "I am satisfied that the value of cotton seed fibre; of oil that may be made from the seed for burning, lubricating and perhaps painting, and for soaps of the refuse cake for distilling, feeding cattle and hogs, manure, and even for gas, is equal in value annually to that of the cotton crop. It is a subject I have given a good deal of attention to. Soap may be made directly from the seed by boiling it in the alkalis; oils may be extracted in a pure state, with a full yield and free of coloring matter, without the costly method of compression; and when extracted the seed may be distilled, as it has the essential properties, containing 11 per cent. of grape sugar, thus displacing so much grain of use for food. The railroad office of this city lights its office from gas made from cotton seed *cake*. The seed itself is richer for the purpose.

"No one item of residue, going to waste in this country, will compare in utility and value to cotton seed; and, with a little attention on the part of those interested and capable of appreciating it, the South in a few years may reap fifty millions annually of nett receipts from working it up. A recent number of the 'Scientific American' says that when cotton sold for six cents per pound, a large amount of it was used for making paper. The waste cotton fibre is equally as good for this purpose, and can be secured by the use of machinery, as supported by me in the May number of the 'Tennessee Farmer and Mechanic.' In paper, oils, and soap, the South can thus beat the world in quality and value, if it choose."

The *Picayune* appends some remarks, as follows:

Our readers are already aware that a company has been established in this city for the purpose of manufacturing rope and yarn from the fibres of the bark of the cotton plant. The terms of the charter of the manufacturing company leaves it open to them to devote their attention to other branches of manufacture also; and it would appear peculiarly fitting that they should enter upon such as may spring from sources so closely allied to—nay to a certain extent identical with—that to which they have particularly resolved on attending. We would therefore invite their attention to the enormous revenue which it is alleged upon apparently conclusive grounds, may be netted from produce of the cotton plant at present thrown away as refuse.

The seed, produces, as Mr. Conkling says, one of the most valuable oils, both for illuminating and lubricating purposes, ranking in both respects equal to sperm oil. The proportion it yields is said to be 30 per cent., and the 70 per cent. residue is all good oil cake. The total quantity of seed being 2,239,800,000 pounds, the oil produced would amount to 671,940,000 pounds, the oil cake to 1,567,860,000 pounds. Estimating the value per pound of the oil to be not more than that of the cheapest grease, it would be worth \$67,194,000; and valuing the cake at one-half the rate at which other oil cake sells, that would be worth \$7,839,300.

Here, then, estimating values at extravagantly low rates, we have a revenue of \$135,000,000 literally being thrown away yearly. Allow that one-half of it—a preposterously large proportion—should be swallowed up in the course of manufacture, and still there would be sixty-five millions and a half left for net profit.

The Manufacturing Company have already directed their attention to yet another product of the cotton plant, as we commenced by remarking; but it appears that this, too, is extremely valuable for paper making purposes, as well as for those to which they appear more particularly intending to direct it. We would invite their attention, as well as that of our readers generally, to the subjoined remarks from the New York Day Book, on this point.

Specimens of the bark stripped from cotton stalks have been exhibited to paper manufacturers at the North, and were considered equal to good rags worth six cents per pound, or about \$120 per ton, and were pronounced the best substitute for rags of any raw vegetable material known to the trade.

The magnitude of the paper business may be conceived when we take into consideration that there are 750 paper mills in the United States, employing 3,000 engines, and

which produce annually at 10 cents per pound, \$27,000,000 worth of paper. To manufacture this amount of paper requires 405,000,000 pounds of rags, $1\frac{1}{2}$ pound of rags being necessary to produce 1 pound of paper. The value of the rags at the average of 4 cents per pound, amounts to \$16,000,000, to which, if the cost of making them into paper, including $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents to each pound of paper in labor, with wastage, chemicals, &c., be added, would swell the cost to \$23,625,000 to produce \$27,000,000 of paper, leaving net profits on the total manufacture of \$3,375,000. For the year ending the 30th June, 1855, we imported 400,003,516 pounds of foreign rags, from twenty-six different countries. Of this amount Tuscany, in Italy, supplied 14,000,000 pounds. Two Sicilys 6,000,000, Austria 4,000,000, Egypt 2,446,928, Turkey 2,466,928, England 2,591,178. The total value of the 400,003,516 pounds imported was \$1,225,150. The manufacture of paper has outstripped the supply of materials, and rope cuttings, hemp waste, and other articles have been resorted to, but the supplies of all have been insufficient to meet the demand, and prices have been steadily on the advance. It is possible that the cotton fields of the South may supply an almost inexhaustible supply of hemp, so that hereafter we shall reach the great desideratum in modern civilization, an abundant and cheap supply of paper.

THE MESSILLA VALLEY.

VAST MINERAL WEALTH OF THE GADSDEN PURCHASE.

A late number of the *Alta California* contains some interesting facts with regard to the mineral wealth of the "Gadsden Purchase." Speaking of the first American expedition into that country, that paper says:

"This party arrived at their place of destination and discovered among other valuable mines, the copper one, now known as the Arizona, situated about thirty miles south of the Gila river and twenty-five north of the new boundary line between the United States and Mexico. The mine was formally claimed, and the news of the discovery sent back to this city, where a joint stock company, with a stock capital of \$560,000 was formed under the laws of 1855. A working capital was easily raised, and since that time the work has silently but steadily progressed. Specimens of copper, in every respect similar to that of Lake Superior, were brought to this city last year, which had been chiseled or sawed off from the vein. According to the representations of Mr. M. R. Sackett, with whom we conversed last year, this mine is one of the richest in the world.

Provisions are obtained at Fort Yuba and Sonora, for the encampment at the mine. The steamer Colorado is now plying on the river. It is designed to ship the copper by her, or by sailing vessels, to the Gulf of California, where it can be shipped by sea-going vessels for Europe.

We were, on Thursday, requested to examine some further specimens from the mine, which is now called the "Arizona Mine." They are fully equal to the best shown last year. Ten tons of this ore are now in this city. The cost per ton of landing the ore at this port is estimated in round numbers to be \$100. It is claimed to be worth from \$350 to \$400 per ton here and more in England, where it can be shipped as ballast in homeward bound vessels. The ore contains a considerable proportion of silver.

While on this subject we would refer to numerous other evidences of wealth discovered in that supposed valueless section, the Gadsden Purchase, as well as other sections of Spanish America. An ancient silver mine known as La Mina de Plancha de Plata has been lately examined by the Americans. A native Indian is said to have discovered large amounts of virgin silver there. But as yet the hostile tribes forbid its being worked. Copper and silver mines are by no means rare throughout Spanish America. Recent explorations have proved that the whole of Central America bound in them. In Tegucigalpa, in the State of Honduras, are found silver mines as rich as those of Cearo Pasco, or Tsingal. On the Atlantic slope of Olancho the hills disclose evidence of silver in many localities, and not ten Spanish leagues from the Bay of Fonseca, are the Castellana silver mines, from which untold wealth has been extracted in the last century, which still enriches every branch of the family to which it belongs.

MINERAL RESOURCES OF THE STATE OF VIRGINIA.

We give below a brief enumeration of some of those mineral and other treasures which constitute the peculiar wealth of Virginia, and which, whatever temporary depression she may suffer from a combination of adverse circumstances, will ultimately raise her to the position of prosperity and influence which she deserves to occupy.

IRON ORE.—There are many deposits of *Iron Ore* in Virginia, from which refined and hammered iron can be made, which will rival the best productions of *Russia and Sweden*. Besides the immense deposits in other parts of the State, almost every variety of iron ore, and inexhaustible mines of coal are found in

Southwestern Virginia in close connection with each other. Of the immense number of guns manufactured by Mr. Anderson at the Tredegar Iron works not one has ever burst, in the severe trials to which they have been subjected. We doubt whether as much can be said of any other establishment of the kind in the United States.

GOLD, COAL, AND COPPER.—These may be found in abundance east of the Blue Ridge. Patrick county alone could furnish the whole Union with copper. Besides the coal of the east and southeast, the Kanawha region possesses an inexhaustible supply. In Kanawha, there is an enormous vein of Cannel coal, the most beautiful and valuable of all coal.

LEAD AND PLUMBAGO.—The *Lead* of Virginia is abundant and of the finest quality. *Plumbago* has also been found in several places east of the Blue Ridge, part of which is of very superior character and can be placed in market at a small expense for export and home manufacture.

SALT.—There are immense *Salt* regions in Kanawha, and in southwestern Virginia inexhaustible stores of this valuable mineral. The salt water found in Washington county, is stronger than that of any other country. *Fossil Salt*, the largest, if not the only deposit of the kind discovered in the United States, is found near the Salt hills, and has been bored into from 50 to 100 feet, without going through it.

PLASTER OF PARIS.—*Plaster of Paris*, of the purest kind exists in great abundance in connexion with the fossil salt, and extending in immense quantities and almost forming mountains, for a distance of twenty or thirty miles.

PORCELAIN CLAY.—An intelligent gentleman of this city informs us that there is as fine *Porcelain Clay* as any in France, near Farmville, and in other sections of Virginia.

GRANITE.—The *Granite* of Richmond is equal in quality and beauty to any in the United States.

LIMESTONE, FIRESTONE, FIRE-CLAY.—In the same region *Limestone* of the purest quality also abounds. There are also great quantities of "Fire Stone" and "Fire-clay" on James river and near Richmond.

MARBLE AND SOAPSTONE.—These may be found in any quantity in Buckingham, Amherst, Augusta, Rockbridge, Rockingham, and other counties. They are of good quality and in great variety.

WATER LIME.—*Water Lime, or Cement*, is found on the James River Canal, in Stockbridge county, of very superior quality, having been tested by competent judges, and found to be *decidedly superior to the best English*, and to the Rosendale

and other kinds from New York, New Jersey, and other States, and can be afforded for *less than half the price demanded for the best Northern article.*

THE COMMERCIAL PROGRESS AND ASPECTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

The greatest phenomenon of the last half century is commercial progress; in its magnitude, its machinery, and its results. The greatest exhibition of that progress is in the United States. This might have been anticipated in some degree, from the extent of the country; its entire freshness; the immense amount of its inland navigation; the rapidity of its colonization, and the entire freedom of its institutions. These invited the enterprising spirits of Europe; gave reward to labor and skill, security to property; and freedom to personal achievements. Much, therefore, might have been expected of both growth and commercial progress. But, we doubt whether any, certainly not more than a very few of the people, who are living in the sun-light of American prosperity, fully realize the great and wonderful progress which their country has made in commercial grandeur. In order to realize this fact, so dominant in our history, we shall set before the reader some steps in that progress, which will set it forth briefly and pointedly. We shall commence with a brief view of the Navigating Interests, which in the progress of commerce are the first in time. We have a return of the actual tonnage of the United States, which we condense into decennial periods thus—giving the tonnage of each period:

Period.	Average tonnage.
1816 to 1825, inclusive.....	1,360,000 tons.
1825 to 1835, inclusive.....	1,534,000 “
1835 to 1845, inclusive.....	2,112,000 “
1845 to 1855, inclusive.....	3,650,000 “
From 1815-'25 to 1825-'35, increase, 13 per cent.	
From 1825-'35 to 1835-'45, “ 36 “ “	
From 1835-'45 to 1845-'55, “ 74 “ “	
In the year 1815 the commercial tonnage was	1,368,000 tons.
In the year 1835 “ “	5,212,000 “
Increase, “ “ “	300 per cent.

The increase of population in that time was 200 per cent. The growth of navigation is, therefore, much the greater.

In the year 1835, the aggregate tonnage of the United States was actually greater than that of Great Britain. We have mentioned that to persons who looked utterly incredulous, supposing it to be merely one of those boasts, for which Americans are supposed to have some gift. Such, however, is the

simple fact, and in the future the navigation of the United States, must, from the more rapid growth of the nation, and its immense coasts and streams, sweep far ahead of Great Britain, and of all other powers—unitedly the Anglo-Saxon race command every ocean, sea and outlet on the globe. Should the time ever come when it is necessary for that race to unite in a common defence of common interests, they can drive every ship of every other nation from the face of the waters.

Were all Europe and Asia combined against England and the United States united, they would be but one vast prison house, cast off from all commerce with each other, and shut up to the resources only of their own countries. As it is, the United States is now commercially dominant in the aggregate, but probably not so in regard to the ocean exclusively—certainly not as to military armaments. But, what is an armed marine on the ocean? Of what is it composed? Simply of the materials which the commercial marine furnishes. Give the United States a year of time, and we can have a hundred ships of the line afloat. In the war of 1812, we built some of the vessels of Perry's fleet in six weeks, and we can do it again. It is the commercial marine which makes the water defence of a country, and the nation which does not breed up its sailors in such a nursery and enure them to all climates and all hardships, can have no military marine.

In order to see in what manner our seamen are trained, let us examine the place of their employment.

Whale fisheries.....	186,844 tons.
Cod fishery.....	102,927 "
Mackerel fishery.....	21,624 "
Steam navigation.....	770,225 "
Coasting trade.....	2,491,109 "
Foreign trade.....	1,644,101 "

The coasting trade, like the fisheries, is the very best school for seamen. It is on the coast where the greatest dangers of all sorts lie, and it is a knowledge of our coast, especially, which is needed.

In order to present the rapid growth of navigation in another striking light, we make the following contrast between the vessels built in 1845 and those built in 1855, viz:

Built in 1845, 1038 vessels; 146,018 tons.
 Built in 1855, 2034 vessels; 583,450 tons.

In the last ten years then, the number of vessels built increased 100 per cent., and the tonnage 300 per cent. The average tonnage of each vessel, in 1845, was 146 tons; but the average tonnage 1855 was 291 tons. This, of itself, marks a

great advance in ship-building. It shows what an advance in the magnitude of vessels has been brought about by the introduction of the great packet lines, the ocean steamers and the river steam-packets. This advance in magnitude marks likewise a great improvement in the accommodations of vessels and the facilities for commerce.

Let us now pass from navigation generally to internal locomotion. Here, in half a century, we have the introduction of these powerful elements to commerce—the steamboat and the railroad. Just glance, in a line or two, at what was and what is, in this respect, at the extremes of a half century.

	1805.	1855.
Steamboats,.....	none	1,750
Steam tonnage,.....	none	780,000 tons.
Railroads,.....	none	22,000 miles.
Passengers,.....	none	50,000,000 No.
Canals,.....	none	2,400 miles.

Such a glance as this, exhibits at once how the commerce of the United States has grown up by the development of its internal trade. Here is a vast creation, exceeding in magnitude that of any portion of the earth, of canals, railroads, and steamboats, brought into being by the energy of this young but thriving nation. When Peter the Great laid the foundations and built the city of St. Petersburg on the marshes of the Neva, it was the wonder of the next century. It was regarded as the very highest exhibition of genius and grandeur. But, St. Petersburgs arise in our country like the mushrooms of the night. So truly is this the case, that they call us a “mushroom people.” But what of that? We are mushrooms of a hardy growth; from whose lofty branches we look down upon the tallest oaks of the old world. In this very business of railroads and steamboats, we are beyond Great Britain, beyond France, beyond all the nations of Continental Europe combined.

As we behold the waves of this mighty progress rising up, over land and over ocean; as we behold it sweeping over the globe, carrying the might of power, the civilization of commerce, the colonization of freedom, the spirit of christianity, free, tolerant, and yet conquering, we behold the greatest triumph which patriot or sage could ever have predicted for our country. And what are the signs of the times? Can this commercial progress be arrested? And if not, can freedom, civilization, Christianity, be arrested? Can this Anglo-American, who sends his Bible to the Turk, his ship to every island, and unfurls his flag to the battle and the breeze, be arrested in his career? Never! Then let the nations hope and wait. *Cincinnati Gazette.*

THEORIES OF TAXATION—DIRECT AND INDIRECT.*

Of all the subjects that political economy has been called upon to discuss, there cannot be found one more recondite and perplexed than "taxation." Enter upon its consideration in whatever light and the same difficulties and embarrassments are presented; difficulties which not even the powerful analysis and experience of the first intellects have been enabled to remove. The profound investigations of statesmen with reference to the imposition and ultimate incidence of taxes, have indicated yet nothing so clearly as the difficulty that attends each step of the investigation, warring as their conclusions ever have, and presenting not even upon minor points that harmony and agreement which is so much to be desired. One cause of the difficulty, and perhaps an influential one, may be the peculiar odium which it has been the fate of taxation to meet with from the people—an odium which increases in a ten fold ratio to the extent of the taxation. The loss of the amount abstracted from the purse to be transferred to the coffers of Government, is more clearly appreciable, and calculated to excite more vivid emotions, than the privileges and immunities which in consideration government is enabled to confer. This, however, is but one of the lesser difficulties, whilst the great source of argumentation is the subject matter and *essence* of the thing.

There are, fortunately, in this region of doubt and incertitude, certain elementary and fundamental principles, which are pretty generally and clearly understood, and which have been assented to by the enlightened of every political school—principles that ought rather to be placed among the axioms than the demonstrable theorems of political science.

First. That taxation is an evil whenever it exceeds that limit which is consistent with a due regard to the interests for the encouragement and defence of which governments were instituted, or more emphatically in the language of Thomas Jefferson, "Taxes as much as are necessary and no more, as long as is necessary and no longer."

Second. "That every tax" in the words of Adam Smith, "ought to be so contrived as both to take out and keep out of the pockets of the people as little as possible, over and above what it brings into the public treasury of the State."

Third. That in the imposition of a tax all possible inconvenience should be guarded against, and that all classes in

* From an old portfolio we drag to light this paper. It was prepared by the Editor whilst yet a college student, scarcely out of the leading strings of his minority. There are many views and positions taken which a more matured experience is very far from rejecting, and it is therefore published without change.

the community should be held on terms of the most perfect equality.

The question then for consideration, on a view of the whole subject, is naturally enough suggested by these political axioms. Does the direct or the indirect system appear to be the best calculated to ensure and perpetuate those advantages, which, for distinction sake, we have styled the fundamental principles of equitable taxation, economy, equal incidence and convenience.

If on this subject, as in law, prescription were a good plea as to right, the question would be relieved of all perplexity and definitely settled, for most assuredly indirect taxation has been the peculiar favorite of government time out of mind. We find it in the earliest commercial nations. At Athens, says Cleaveland, (*Antiquities*, 54,) no taxes were levied upon citizens, but all upon property, and these with the exception of a slight poll tax upon slaves, were indirect, for direct taxes were extremely odious to that people so jealous of their liberty. Indeed, the etymology of the word "customs," is itself sufficient to establish the antiquity of the tax, for Sir Edward Coke, in *2d Institutes*, 58, shows that *custuma*, and *consuetudines*, were indiscriminately applied in the old law Latin to this branch of the revenue, as if it were founded on immemorial usage in England.

But we anticipate. Few will be inclined for such a reason to conclude, *a priori*, in favor of direct taxation, and deprecate all innovation as inimical to the interests of man. As well might a Copernicus, or a Gallileo, have yielded their own opinions to the theories of Hipparchus or Ptolomy; as well the disciple of Bacon consign to the flames the volumes of his master to light him as he grapples with the mysteries of Aristotle, and the ponderous nonsense of his expounders, the schoolmen; as well the philosopher claim prescription in favor of heathenism against the light of the Bible.

The first remark that we make, is, that the universal popularity of the system with government is so far from being in itself an argument in its favor, that it ought rather solemnly to admonish every inquirer after truth to pause and examine with circumspection the whole subject; for why, with great propriety it may be asked, has it been favored with this peculiar mark of estimation? Because it has been found most productive of the national interest? This will hardly be maintained when one reflects at how late a day the interests of the sovereign and people were acknowledged to be identical, and how little those interests have been observed and guarded by the "powers that be." The true reason seems to be that indirect taxation offers facilities of amassing wealth for the pur-

poses of the State much more considerable than could ever be obtained directly from the public purse. Its operation is silent and unperceived; the people feel, but they are incompetent to trace the evil to its source, and thus withdrawn from the public eye, the virulence of its operation increases in a geometrical ratio, and baffles all attempts to attack and expose its enormity. "And these are the duties" says an English Commentator, "felt least by the people, and if prudently managed the people hardly consider that they pay them at all. For the merchant is easy, being sensible that he does not pay them for himself, and the consumer who really pays them confounds them with the price of the commodity." And not seldom we find an instance in Roman history of this very natural error of the consumer. According to Tacitus, Nero gained the reputation of having abolished the tax on the sale of slaves by removing it from the shoulders of the buyer and imposing it upon the seller, so that, as he expresses it, it was *remissum magis specie quam vi; quid cum venditor pendere juberenter, en partem pretii emptoribus accrescebat*. Take the case of England as an example, a nation with the most complex and artificial system of taxation on the face of the globe, and which has been pointed out by the advocates of crippled commerce and high tariffs—England, where the utmost extremity of wretchedness and want is coupled with the magnificence of King, Court, and Aristocracy. Let this great but crippled nation reverse her measures, and extract directly from the people's purse those enormous amounts which she raises by her arbitrary restrictions to squander in luxury and wantonness of power, a new era in her political existence will be ushered in, and her bloated system of fraud and injustice be swept away in a revolution which will shake the kingdom to its centre, and establish upon its ruins that system of economy and equality which the public welfare so loudly demands. Even now the rumblings of revolution are heard throughout that mighty empire, and the ministry are admonished to take heed, lest the limits of forbearance are passed. Who will pretend that England could maintain her present establishment and supremacy—a supremacy which is paid for in the misery of the lower classes—were every species of indirect exaction abolished? As far back as 1775, Dr. Smith asserted that 8 millions of her population paid £10,000,000 to the support of the Government, or \$50,000,000, twice the sum that double the number of inhabitants in the United States contribute for the same purpose, even with our own imperfect system. How much more grinding her extortion at the present day may be inferred from the enormous national debt of near £1,000,000,000 which has accumulated, and the extravagant and unprofitable empire

she maintains in the East. In the United States, from 1815 to 1829 inclusive, according to Condé Ragnet, \$315,000,000 were raised alone on import duties, an average of \$21,000,000 per year, and that too at a time when General McDuffie asserted in the House of Representatives, that he would suppose \$8,000,000 to be an ample revenue from the customs for an economical administration. How far such a reckless system, and which received the title, in the warm language of that period, of being "born in sin, and nurtured in iniquity," would have been carried, it is difficult to say, had it not been arrested by the vigilance of the South, and deprived of its venom by the compromise. With how great difficulty the work was accomplished will be remembered, when we revert to the unflinching opposition with which those who were really the injured were ready to meet the opponents of that which was so speciously glossed over and disguised under the misnomer—"the American system."

Here, then, at first sight is the great objection to every system of taxation of the genus indirect; and the more seriously and profoundly we meditate upon it, of more magnitude will it appear. But to duties upon imports in particular there are other objections, which if less evident, can by no means be thought unworthy of note. These we design to consider in a hurried manner, and then revert to such advantages as have been thought to grow out of them.

And first, we may state in general terms, that the mode of collecting these taxes is by far the most expensive, thus offending against one of the principles which we have laid down as fundamental in the science. The great army of custom-house officers, collectors, inspectors, clerks, tide-waiters, the expensive structures that are erected, the revenue cutters maintained, all swell the amount which is taken out of the hands of the people vastly beyond that which ever gets into the hands of the Government. Sir John Sinclair computed the expense of collecting the English customs at 10½ per cent., the excise 5½ per cent., and the land tax 3 per cent., (1 Chitty's Black., 318, note,) and Dr. Adam Smith (Wealth of Nations, p. 430,) remarks "that if the salaries of officers and other incidents therefore, amount to more than ten per cent. (which is his computation) upon the net revenues of the customs, the whole expense of levying that revenue may amount in salaries and perquisites together, to more than 20 or 30 per cent." But in the second place, it is a discouragement to certain branches of industry, for though, says the same profound writer on political science, a rise of price in a foreign commodity in consequence of a tariff may encourage domestic industry in one particular branch, it necessarily discourages

that industry in almost every other. To this is to be added the inconvenience endured by those who are compelled to abstain from the enjoyment of particular commodities, in consequence of their enhanced value under the action of a tariff, amounting almost to prohibition. A third evil is the new crime of smuggling, which has been introduced into the statute book; but upon this subject we will permit the great Commentator upon the laws of England to speak: "These imposts, if too heavy, are a cramp upon trade, and especially when the value of a commodity bears little or no proportion to the quantity of the duty imposed." This in consequence gives rise also to smuggling, which then becomes a very lucrative employment, and its natural and most reasonable punishment, viz: confiscation of the commodity is in such cases quite ineffectual, the intrinsic value of the goods being very inconsiderable when compared with his prospect of advantage in evading the duty. Resource therefore must be had to extraordinary punishments to prevent it, perhaps even to capital ones, which destroy all proportion of guilt, and puts murderers upon an equal footing with those who are really guilty of no natural, but merely a positive offence. This objection however has lost much of its force in modern times, and more especially in our country, but not so much as to render it by any means insignificant.

There is a fourth, and perhaps greater objection, and it is this, that it strikes a fatal blow at trade, preventing that free and unrestricted commerce between nations which the enlightenment of modern days has demonstrated to be productive of their mutual advantage, and tending constantly to give larger and larger protection, as it is miscalled by a class of our politicians, to domestic manufactures of particular descriptions. This objection deserves a more deliberate consideration.

Free trade has been proposed by every political economist since the time of Smith, as the great desideratum in every system of legislation; its tendency is to expand the human mind, and introduce a higher standard of cultivation, and to destroy at one swoop those anti-philanthropic and anti-christian doctrines which have so long prevailed, and into which even Voltaire is said to have fallen: "that the gain of one nation can only be at the expense of another." Its first, and most instructive lesson to nations, would be to ponder well before they exchanged the blessings of peace for the horrors of war, since every one nation is necessary to every other, and no permanent injury can be inflicted upon one which will not ultimately be felt by all. With respect to "*protection*," that memorable word in our history which we have denounced as an evil of the tariff system, but little need here be said. However

involved in doubt and mystery the whole subject of its application to home industry might have been in former times, the able and lucid expositions which the whole subject received during the times which tried mens' souls in South Carolina, has probably convinced every thinking and unprejudiced mind of the gross injury which it proposes to inflict upon the whole country, for the benefit of a small section, and that benefit, too, of the most uncertain and questionable nature; but upon this point every thing like argument or illustration would be a work of supererogation at this late day.

Having considered primarily the evils of the indirect system, and incidentally those which accrue from an import tariff of duties, it will be next in order to advert to that which has been called its counterbalancing advantage, by those who have been so little *ultra* in their opinions as to admit the existence of its evils. And first, it is said that "a tariff on imports has the advantage of simplicity; that the consumers, or the people, contribute their quota of governmental support with the least possible inconvenience, and that such a tax being obscure in its operation, is the more readily acquiesced in, no individual being called upon by the tax collector at the very moment when he is least able to pay, since it is at the option of every one, whether he will buy the articles taxed or not, or in other words, whether he will or will not contribute to the support of government; specious reasoning forsooth, and given too by men who maintain a grave and serious countenance, all the while, admirably calculated to make an impression upon the minds of those for whom nature has fashioned no other logic but the *dicta* of their leaders, and who ever contending with the superficialities of a subject, care but little to extend their researches beneath. Now if there was indeed any weight in the argument to honor it with the title, it could only be, we may safely pronounce, when the utmost possible economy was of necessity exercised by government; but when has this period ever been, or when is it likely to be? But so far from there being weight in the argument, it would be the easiest possible task to exhibit the fallacy and absurdity of its leading features, and establish that although there be some slight advantage accruing derivable somewhere, that advantage would be but dearly purchased, when we consider the constant tendency to an extravagant disposition of the public wealth, and the facilities which such taxes afford for that purpose.

It has been urged again, that under any other system there would be constant revolution, that dissatisfaction and complaints would ever be rife among the people, that tumults, such as existed on similar questions in ancient Rome would follow, and a revenue sufficient even for the most economical admin-

istration would never be raised. We are pointed to the tythe system in England, and the whiskey tax of the United States, and the difficulties they have produced, and are asked if in the face of all this we can still be urgent in pressing the claims of the direct system with any color of justice? To this we are prepared to answer, that the argument is more in appearance than in reality, and if the evidences of public spirit which we are so frequently called upon to witness, be admitted as criteria, it would be evident that the enlightened patriotism of the present day would at all times ensure a revenue in every sense adequate to the real wants of the nation; at least we have yet discovered no indisposition on the part of the people to sustain an administration in its fair and economical expenditures.

The conclusion then we hold to be irresistible, that indirect taxation in general, and a tariff in particular, are to be carefully guarded against in a republic, as fruitful sources of evil, and engines of oppression in the hands of those in power. What then, as republicans jealous of liberty, should be concluded on? Their gradual and entire abolition.

But then the question naturally comes up, in what manner shall the revenue of the United States be raised? Answer. By property and income taxes. And the *modus operandi*? Upon this point we shall remain silent, political wisdom must be allowed to determine, and the experience of a few years will rectify any error that may grow out of that determination.

The statesman whose able and patriotic speech we alluded to at the head of this article, has had the honor of standing out among the first in defence of this, his favorite measure, and though his opinions seem to be held by but a small majority in the House of which he is a member, the day is yet to come, in our humble estimation, when they will be universally admitted and acted upon, and the complex and multifarious systems of the present day be swept to a merited oblivion.

There has been one plan spoken of for supplying the treasury of the nation, which seems to offer many advantages. Let the treasurer, it is said, submit to Congress the amount required for the expenditures of the ensuing year, and let this be apportioned among the States with reference to the taxable property and incomes in each. If New York have ten times the taxable material that the State of South Carolina has, let the State of New York contribute ten times the amount, and this, though similar to "art. 8th, articles of Confederation," which has been denounced as inefficient, we think might be matured into a plan.

The people would then severely criticise the appropriations of Congress, unnecessary expenses would never be incurred, each

individual feeling and knowing that he did indeed contribute to the nation's support, which many seem now disposed to question, would feel a certain degree of public spirit, greater than at present. The rich and the poor would find their interests to be identical, that one cannot suffer without the other, and that perfect equality is the basis of the system. Special legislation, log rolling, et cetera, must cease, and the whole energy of the representative be applied exclusively and unremittingly for the greatest good to the greatest number.

THE UNION AND ITS COMPROMISES.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH—WHERE WE STAND, AND TO WHAT ARE WE DRIFTING.

An intelligent gentleman at the South sends us the following article, which we insert without change. In his letter, he says: "I herewith send an article written by an intelligent gentleman, for you to publish all, a part, or none, as to you may seem proper. The views which it expresses were first presented to me in a conversation, and I was so impressed with their truthfulness, in the main, and the importance of having the subject fully understood by the people of the South, that I suggested to him to write them out, and submit them for publication. At my instance, he has therefore written the accompanying article."

That the Southern States are behind the Northern States in all their great industrial pursuits, both useful and ornamental, is the testimony of every one who has travelled over both sections. At the North, or in the free States, as they are called, towns and cities are built up as by magic—new Territories are peopled and new States formed and added to the confederacy with a rapidity before unknown to civilization; and this too while the old States are most rapidly bounding forward in wealth, population, and general prosperity.

At the South, or in the slave States, as they are termed, it is true when they compare themselves with themselves, much has been done in peopling new Territories and bringing new States into the confederacy, but while they have been doing this their old States are at a stand still; they are about where they were thirty years ago, and when compared to their northern neighbors are found greatly wanting in both of these respects. Now the mere fact of these things being so is not so much the matter.

If they were two distinct nations separate from each other by political boundaries as distinctly marked as in the organism of their social society, no harm could come of it, then each could judge for itself what was right and proper for itself to do, and could, without consulting the other, adopt and carry out such policy both foreign and domestic, as they might deem

best suited to their respective tastes and interests, without being subjected to or affected by a comparison with each other. But far different is the case, for while they are two distinct people, in fact, they are made one and the same politically, while their local habits and policies are as different as laws and customs can make them, they are required to conform to the same general laws; and while each has, and exercises the perfect right of enacting and enforcing such laws as they may deem best suited to their local condition, without the consent of the other, they must both conform to the same foreign policy; in view therefore of this peculiar political relationship that exists between the North and the South, this difference of progress and general prosperity becomes a very grave matter. A comparison between the two sections is inevitable, and to the casual observer it will be attributed almost certainly to their local, instead of the general policy. The Northern people institute this comparison every day, and as often point to the local institutions of the South as the cause of the difference; indeed so repeated has been this allegation that many of the Southern people have been almost, if not quite, persuaded of its truth.

Now I admit, with all frankness and candor, that the non-slave-holding States are in all or nearly all the great industrial pursuits of the age greatly in advance of the slave-holding States; but I must, with the same frankness and candor, deny the allegation that the cause is to be found in the local laws, customs, or institutions of either; but that they are to be traced, unerringly to the Constitution, laws, and policy of the General Government. Am I asked to point them out? I do so by referring to one only; there may be others, and no doubt are, but the clause in the Constitution of the United States, and the laws and policy made conformable thereto, prohibiting the African slave-trade in the year 1808, is to my mind so manifestly the immediate and great cause, that I will content myself with a few reflections in regard to it.

It is an undeniable truth, that labor is at the foundation of all wealth, and hence it is that when a country has sufficient capital and intelligence to direct it, (as ours has,) its scarcity or abundance will mark with perfect certainty the progress and improvements of that country; for instance, if A has one hundred laborers, and B has but fifty, it is needless to say that A can occupy more territory, cultivate more ground, and make more money than B can; that he can do so is too plain for argument.

Well, this is just the case with the North and the South; the North has two laborers to where the South has but one,

and hence it is just as plain, as in the case of A and B, that the North can occupy more territory, do more work, make more improvements, and accumulate more wealth than the South can possibly do; and this must continue to be the case as long as the South is subjected to this constitutional restriction. The North has chosen to hire her laborers for a stated period, and to pay a given per diem price; and she is not required by the Constitution and laws of the General Government to confine herself to native laborers, but she has the right to hire this labor wherever she can obtain it on the best terms; indeed the General Government rather encourages her in the importation of foreign laborers, and it is to this foreign cheap labor that she is indebted for her rapid growth and prosperity. It has built her towns and cities, her railroads and canals, opened her quarries and her coal mines; in a word, has done, and is doing everything for her.

Go there, and see who it is that handles the spade, the shovel, and the hoe—see who it is that is carrying brick and mortar to the 6th and 7th stories of those innumerable and elegant edifices that are being reared up every where from Boston to Minnesota. Is it the yankee? no! it is foreigner; and but for the foreigner, the North to-day would have been behind the South in these improvements. The South has chosen to make a different contract with her laborers; instead of hiring for per diem wages, she saw proper to buy it; and while she had free access to the markets of the world, where it could be had in its needed abundance, her progress, in everything pertaining to advancement and civilization, was not only equal, but in many respects greatly in advance of her neighbor the North. But since the year 1808, when this prohibition went into effect, she has had to depend entirely upon native born labor, all accessions from abroad have been denied her, and ever since then she has been gradually losing her position in this great race for empire; and who dare say that the cause is not to be found in the General Government; now if they were two independent nations, this invidious comparison would loose its effect. Like two separate families, one might be all the time striving to increase its fortune, the other might say, I am rich enough, I will take my ease; and it would be nobody's business as long as they were both able take care of themselves. But the relationship that exists between these parties, forbids this quiet on the part of either. The occupation and settlement of new States and a controlling influence over the policy of the General Government are prizes—a crown for which the parties must contend; which ever secures most of the former will be preminent in the latter, and the other must fly, or submit

to change the whole organism of its society, and therefore cease to exist. With the continuance of this restriction, a blind man might see who is to wear the crown.

The Kansas-Nebraska act, recently put forth as the law of the land, plainly and unequivocally recognizes the North and the South as two distinct people, as they really are in all their interests and feelings, and hoists this glittering crown prominently before the eyes of the contending parties. In this law, the General Government practically says to these parties, "now, gentlemen, both of you already have a large number of well improved plantations, to which you have undisputed titles; I have still quite a large number more, not improved, which I hold in my own right, and which are now open for settlement and occupation, you can both send to these farms such spare laborers as you may have, and, for the present, I will extend my equal protection to both of you; and, by and by, I will come along, and to which ever of you shall have the greatest number of hands on any of these farms, shall receive my titles to the same." Well, this seems all fair enough, and really is so, were it not for the clog behind—this constitutional restriction against one of the contending parties. Now, by this restriction, this same General Government, that has all at once become so remarkably fair and disinterested, practically says to the North, "you can add to the natural increase of your laborers as many others as you can obtain from all parts of the world," but to the South it says, "you must depend alone on your natural increase; you shall not go abroad for any more, to be employed either on the plantations you now have, or on those for which you are contending." Now, when you take this restriction in connection with the Kansas-Nebraska act, all the seeming fairness of the latter at once vanishes, the former destroys the very means, and the only means by which the South, the party restricted, could hope to keep pace with her sister, the North, in the settlement and occupation of these new plantations. With such a clog, and with such a competitor, who expects her, who can expect her, to keep pace with the North? It is a mockery, it is willful blindness to imagine such a thing. But then the South must keep pace with the North in this matter, or she must consent to loose all her influence in the councils of the General Government, as the latter entirely depends upon the former. Can she consent to this vassalage? Let her sons answer. Yea! they must answer, and that before another decade rolls round.

One of three things are inevitable: 1st, the South must be permitted to import her laborers, as the North does, from wherever she can obtain them on the best terms, in such numbers as she may choose; 2d, or she must submit to have the

North make her laws and write her history; or, 3d, she must dissolve her union with the North, and form a Southern Confederacy. The first can not be done; as it takes a two-thirds majority of both Houses of Congress to amend the Constitution, which it is hopeless to suppose could be had. And I take it, that the honor of the South alone forbids that the second will ever be submitted to. Then, a Southern Confederacy must be the only alternative; this I fully believe, and the sooner she sets about the work the less blood will be spilled, and the sooner she will accomplish her true destiny.

But that it may be more clearly seen that this is her true destiny, or else to have her history written by her enemies, I will here examine the foundation upon which the only three forms of organized society is formed, by those who speak the English language, and it is with that portion of the family, man, that we have to do. The parties to these three forms of society are Great Britain, the Southern or slaveholding States of the United States, and the Northern or non-slaveholding States of the United States. These all possess the same materials, labor, capital, and intelligence in their organization; but the nature of the contract by which these elementary materials are made operative are so essentially different in each as to entirely preclude the possibility of any two of them living together, any considerable length of time, under the same government. To make this more apparent, I will begin at the beginning of these different organizations of society, and examine into the nature and peculiarity of each contract; and in doing so, I will proceed upon the supposition that there are in these communities two poor men to one rich man; which supposition will be found to be very nearly correct; and what I mean by a poor man is, one that has to labor, day by day, for his daily bread.

I will first look at the contract that the capital and intelligence of the South has made with its laborers; and that this contract may be more readily understood, I will suppose there were but three persons, one white man and two negroes. The white man has both capital and intelligence; but is unable, or unwilling to perform the physical labor necessary to make his means for a livelihood available. The two black men have abundant physical ability to labor, but have not the means to employ it; now if these three individuals remain in this state of isolation from each other, they must all soon perish; collectively they have ample resources, but individually they have none at all; hence it becomes plain, that an association of some sort must be formed for their mutual protection and benefit—yea, for their very existence. The very necessities of the case demand it, and they accordingly organize a society

or government, under such form and contract as they think best suited to their present and future wants.

The white man who has the capital, and in whom intelligence very largely preponderates, seeing this necessity, makes the following proposition to the two black men: 1st, to furnish them with plenty of good and wholesome food; 2d, with clothing such as the season may require; 3d, with houses, fuel, and bedding to protect them against the inclemency of the weather; 4th, with such tools and implements as their labor may require; 5th, to furnish them with medical attention when sick, and to take care of them in infancy and childhood, and to see that their supply of food and raiment do not fail when old age or decrepitude come upon them, 6th; that they are to have the sabbath or seventh day for rest; 7th, that they shall be free in the exercise of their religious faith, provided the exercise of such faith does not tend to disturb the quiet and good order of the community; 8th, that he exclusively is to have the entire political management of the society, or government; 9th, that he is to have the entire control, and management of their labor; 10th, that, after he has performed all these obligations, he is to have for his own use and benefit, whatever of the proceeds of their labor may remain; 11th, that this contract shall be perpetual. This is the simple foundation upon which the whole fabric of Southern society is reared, as is plainly exemplified in their every day life.

Now let us see the contract that the capital or capitalist at the North has made with its laborers; we will again suppose there were but three persons, these however are all white, and although intelligence may be more diffused among the capital and labor, still intelligence always largely preponderates or tends towards capital, and consequently quite a different contract is the result; but as in the other case, all three of these individuals, isolated and unorganized, are equally helpless, and must also perish if they thus remain. One of these, who represents capital, and in whom intelligence preponderates, sees that something must be done for their common preservation, and so also does the other two, and hence there is more controversy about the contract, though it be much shorter; capital says "you can't do without me," and labor retorts, and says "*you* can't do without *me*." It is more and more apparent to all, that something must be done; still they wrangle, for each would feign avoid the toil; but then somebody must work, for labor and toil is one of the foundation stones. Thus they wrangle, until finally the great lever, necessity, concludes the contest—the two agree to perform the physical labor for per diem wages, and the one agrees to give the use of his capital for per diem profits. In the management

of the political affairs of the society or government the laborer and capitalist are to have an equal voice. That this is the foundation stone upon which Northern society is formed is, as in the other case, clearly exemplified in their every day life.

We will now look at the contract between these same primary elements in Great Britain, and again we see still a different contract. The two laborers agree to take per diem wages for the use of their physical powers; and the capitalist agrees to take a per diem profit for the use of his capital, but the laborer is not permitted to have any voice in the political management of the society or government. This will at once be seen to be the foundation stone upon which the English Government is reared.

It is not my purpose to bring in a bill of indictment against all, or any one of these forms of society. The thousands of newspapers, periodicals, pamphlets, and books, that are daily sent forth by the teeming press, contain ample testimony that no informer is needed for such an object; nor is it my purpose to assume the character of reformer, as these same documents afford indubitable evidence, that the name of these are, legion. If vilification and abuse on the one hand, or nostrums on the other, could have availed anything, each of these forms of society, in their turn, would have long since been utterly destroyed, or made entirely perfect; but none of these have, nor are they likely ever to avail anything; for I am persuaded that they all are organized on foundations too deep and broad ever to be essentially altered or amended by the ephemeral effusions and sickly nostrums of political quacks; my purpose is simply to show that there are differing and distinctive features contained in each of these organizations of society which renders it contrary to nature and to common sense to suppose, as before remarked, that any two of them can exist together any considerable length of time under the same government. Let us then briefly examine and compare these different contracts, and see a few of their agreements and disagreements, with each other. At the South, it will be seen that all political power is vested exclusively in capital. In this she agrees with Great Britain. Her contract with her laborers is once for all time, not to be renewed daily, monthly, or yearly, as the case may be. In this she disagrees with Great Britain; at the South capital obligates itself to take care of its laborers, and see that their supply of food and raiment fail not, in infancy and childhood, and in old age and decrepitude, when they are unable to perform their daily labor. In this, she is again unlike Great Britain, and in all she is directly the opposite of her sister, the North. At the North capital and labor agree to make a new bargain every day, month, or year, as the

case may be, for their respective profits. In this she is like Great Britain; at the North capital gives no guarantee that the laborer's supply of food and raiment shall not fail in case he becomes, from any cause, physically unable to earn his daily wages; and in this she again agrees with Great Britain; at the North, the laborer has an equal voice with the capitalist in all the political management of the society or government; in this she is unlike Great Britain; and in all of these she is in total disagreement with her sister, the South.

Now it is needless to protract this comparison. The intelligent reader, must see at a glance, that the North and the South do entirely and irreconcilably differ in all the essential points in their respective original contracts, by which they were organized into social or political communities. Is there a man in all the country who does not believe that the North and the South in point of fact, are two distinct people? There are some points of agreement between both, the North and Great Britain; but between the North and the South, there is not one.

Where then is the bond of union that is to make these two into one; there is no such thing in existence, that I am aware of. It is contrary to nature there should be. But I am referred to the Constitution of the United States, or rather to an instrument of writing which erroneously bears that name; but I say that instrument is no Constitution at all. It is not worthy of the name even of a respectable treaty, and certainly it can't be called a fair and honest contract between two parties; the truth is, that instrument is nothing more nor less than an injurious, complicated, and incomprehensible batch of compromises, from beginning to ending. The whole history of its adoption shows that its framers had but one idea in their minds; and that was to write something that all the States would sign, and this same one idea has pervaded the minds of all our leading statesmen ever since; compromise, compromise, compromise, has been the statesman's constant cry.

The greatest intellects of their age, Calhoun, Webster, and Clay, spent their days in fruitless efforts to reconcile these two irreconcilable sections, and finally went down to their graves heart broken and disappointed.

Truly, there has been a waste of patriotism, and a waste of hope, until now; statesmen have ceased to think, and seem to possess just enough sagacity to see that the Union is a failure, and just enough of timidity to prevent them from dissolving it. Why is it, that every presidential candidate, from the time of Washington until now, has been selected on the ground that he possessed such extraordinary and remarkable peculiarities as were just fitted to reconcile all sectional controversies? and

why has the adoption of every important measure brought before Congress been urged upon the same plea, of being just the thing needed to put an end to all sectional strife? and why, I ask, have they all as signally failed? I have but the same answer to give, these sections are two distinct people, and what suits one does not, cannot, suit the other. But I am told that "if the Union be dissolved, civil war will be the result." I say that a dissolution of the Union is the only means under Heaven to prevent a civil war. Obliterate the Constitution to-day, and who believes that there are five States in the Confederacy that would again sign it with its present provisions? nobody believes it, no, nor it would not have been signed when it was but for the circumstances then existing—the exciting scenes of a successful revolution. The North and the South, in that revolution, had fought together and bled together, and had just been successful in freeing themselves from a government that both repudiated, because it was evident to both, that it was not adapted to their wants, and was a clog and a hinderance to their progress and prosperity. Thus excited, and apparently cemented, by a common danger, and a common suffering, and a common triumph, they imagined themselves to be one people; when, in fact, they were less of kin to each other than they were to the government they had just thrown off.

That Revolutionary war, and its termination, is in evidence that these two sisters would not permit even a mother to dictate constitutions and laws for their government, notwithstanding similar traits of her character are legibly marked on both of them.

Then, are not the very compromises of the Constitution itself, the numerous compromise enactments of the Federal Government, the constant, rapid, and irresistible tendency to a sectionalization of every measure coming before Congress—the rending asunder of ecclesiastical organization, upon sectional questions alone, also, in evidence, greatly more elaborate, but no less plain, palpable, and truthful, that these two sisters, in whom no likeness of character can be traced, can never make satisfactory Constitutions and laws for their joint Government? yes, indeed are they in evidence, and too plainly for the dullest comprehension not to see that the death knell has been rung to this unnatural and unjust Union, which works ill, probably to both, but certainly to one.

A *Constitution* is simply the original contract between the labor and capital of a single people. And it does not matter whether it be written or not. The history of such a people is the embodiment of their intelligence in their recorded legal enactments and decisions by which such contract is perpetuated.

England has such a constitution and such a history. The North and the South have each such a constitution; and but for the mistaken idea that they are one people, they each would have had such a history, and in such case their progress would have been untrammelled by each other, and without sectional strife. Then each would have had due respect for the other's rights, which rights would have been well defined and easily understood.

But as things are, neither the North or the South have any rights. They are all merged in the Union, and it is pitiful to see the whole political talent of the whole country in such profound and diligent search for these imaginary rights—as for the needle in the hay-cock. The most popular enactment of the General Government *declares* “that the territories of the country are all *common* property, and that the North and the South have *common* rights in them.” Now, I would ask, who ever heard of *common* property; the very fact of its being declared common, proves the want of ownership—proves that it belongs to nobody, and therefore is not property at all; so, before property is made of it, you must go back to the law of appropriation, and that is precisely the condition in which all the Territories of the United States are in; they belong to nobody until they are *appropriated*, and hence this perpetual strife between the North and the South must continue to rage with constantly increasing bitterness until, by civil war, the whole country will be deluged in blood. Men ever have and ever will spill their blood for the soil, and especially must the contest be a sanguinary one when the honors and emoluments of such a Government as the United States are so prominently held up as an additional prize to the successful combatant.

But, notwithstanding these primary materials, labor and capital are so differently combined in their respective contracts in each of these communities, there is a principle pervading each which is common to all, which again renders it still more plain, that they all must be separate independent nations in law, as they are in fact; and that is the principle of progress or expansion. To make this principle operative, free access to labor where ever it may be found, is an indispensable requisite. England may progress and expand, because she has free access to the world at large from which to draw her needed supplies of labor; and so may the North, for she has no compromise limitations in regard to a supply of labor.

But the South, who has this principle quite as largely developed as either England or the North, is restrained from the privilege by that nondescript document called a Constitution, of seeking and obtaining the indispensable article of labor from where it can be had on the best terms.

THE VOICE OF KANSAS—LET THE SOUTH RESPOND.

APPEAL BY THE LAW AND ORDER PARTY OF KANSAS TERRITORY TO THEIR FRIENDS
IN THE SOUTH, AND TO THE LAW-ABIDING PEOPLE OF THE UNION.

One of the Committee (Col. Buford) places the manuscript in our hands, and we commend it to the serious attention of the readers of the Review. The cause is one to which, without loss of a single day, every Southern man should contribute. Alabama, South Carolina, and Georgia, have been lavish in their aid. The loss of Kansas will give to the enemies of Southern institutions a victory more signal and more important than has yet been won over us. To avert the mischief, prompt and concerted action at the South is only needed. Those familiar with the state of affairs in Kansas know that it can only be abolitionized by the supineness of the people of this section, whose all is at stake in these contests.

The undersigned, at a recent meeting of the party, were constituted a committee, charged, among other things, with the publication of this address.

That a state of insurrection and civil war exists among us is abundantly evident: the "law and order party" on the one side, opposed on the other by the abolitionists, sent out and sustained by the Emigrant Aid Societies of the North. A brief review of the points at issue, and their controlling circumstances, may be useful to justify this our appeal for aid.

In territorial politics, the question of free or slave State has swallowed up every other. The abolitionists on the one hand, in accordance with their early teaching, regard slavery as the greatest possible evil; they deem it a monstrous national crime, which their false theories of government impute equally to every portion of the confederacy, and thus believing themselves individually responsible for its existence, they feel bound each to struggle for its overthrow; to such extremes have wicked demagogues stimulated their fanaticism, that their perverted consciences justify any mode of warfare against slaveholders, however much in violation of law, however destructive of property or human life, and however atrociously wicked it may seem to others; nay, many of them already go so far as to oppose all law, religion, property, order, and subordination among men, as subversive of what they are pleased to call man's natural and inherent equality. And with them it is no mere local question of whether slavery shall exist in Kansas or not, but one of far wider significance, a question of whether it shall exist any where in the Union. Kansas they justly regard as the mere outpost in the war now being waged between the antagonistic civilizations of the North and the South; and winning this great outpost and stand-point, they rightly think their march will be open to an easy conquest of the whole field. Hence the extraordinary means the abolition party has adopted to flood Kansas with the most fanatical and lawless portion of northern society; and hence the large

sums of money they have expended to surround their brother Missourians with obnoxious and dangerous neighbors.

On the other hand, the pro-slavery element of the "law and order party" in Kansas, looking to the Bible, find slavery ordained of God; they find there, as by our law, slavery made "an inheritance to them and their children forever." Looking to our national census, and to all statistics connected with the African race, and considering, too, their physical, intellectual, and moral natures, we see that slavery is the African's normal and proper state; since, in that state, that race multiplies faster, has more physical comfort, less vice, and more moral and intellectual progress than in any other.

We believe slavery the only school in which the debased son of Ham, by attrition with a higher race, can be refined and elevated; we believe it a trust and guardianship given us of God for the good of both races. Without sugar, cotton, and cheap clothing, can civilization maintain its progress? Can these be supplied without slavery? Nay, in the absence of slave institutions, must not social distinctions supervene among the free to the detriment of republican equality? This is no mere property question, but a great social and political question of races; it is not a question of whether A. or B. shall be owner, but of whether the slave, still having a master, shall still be a working bee, and not an idle drone in the hive; a question of whether the South shall still be a land flowing with milk and honey, or a land of mendicants and vagabonds; a great question of races; a question of whether we shall sink to the level of the freed African, and take him to the embrace of social and political equality, and fraternity; for such is the natural end of abolition progress. Fanaticism must defend its beneficiaries—first, by sending the federal army to protect them, and ultimately by giving them the right to bear arms, vote, testify, make and administer laws—in short, the right to eat out our substance, to pull us down to their level, to taint our blood, and bring us to a degradation from which no time can redeem us. Thus radical and marked the difference in theory between the two parties, and not less so their difference in practice; while we, in good faith, sustain and uphold the laws, the abolitionists on the other hand, in effect, repudiate and set them at defiance; with open disloyalty they assert the invalidity of the territorial laws, while they render our national insignia only the mockery of a hollow respect; indeed, more than once, they have openly resisted the marshal in the service of process, and, in some places, their organized armed resistance to the territorial laws is so overwhelming that ministers of the law there never attempt the discharge of their official duties; they have repudiated payment of taxes, and

have held and published the proceedings of large public meetings in which they resolved to resist, even to blood, the territorial laws, and especially the laws for the collection of the public revenue.

According to testimony under oath lately given before the Congressional Committee, they have secret military organizations for resisting the laws and for carrying out their abolition designs upon Kansas—organizations in which the members are bound by the most solemn oaths to obey their leaders, in all cases, not excepting even murder and treason. It is abundantly proved by eye-witnesses of unquestioned veracity, that at this present time, they have at different points in the territories banded together in actual encampment large numbers of armed men, subsisted and kept together by their aid societies for no other object than to make forays upon the country and drive our friends from their homes. By such banditti the murders near Ossawatimie, on Pottawattamie creek, were committed; declarations by the perpetrators contemporaneous with their foul deeds indubitably show the parentage of these crimes; six victims, whose bodies have been found, fell in that massacre, beside four others missing from the neighborhood, and not yet heard from. Of the six, one was Allen Wilkinson, Esq., a member of the territorial Legislature and postmaster at Shermanville; sick with the measles, for no other offence save that of being a law and order man, he was dragged at midnight from his bed, and from the side of a sick and imploring wife, by a band of abolition assassins, acting as they said in the name of the great northern army; within hearing of the terror stricken wife, with fiendish barbarity, he was flayed alive, his nose and ears were cut off, his scalp torn from his head, and then he was stabbed through the heart. Such is the sworn evidence of his widow lately tendered in Westport before the Congressional Investigating Committee. It revealed on the part of their friends such a picture of savage ferocity that that Committee for once blushed, and even stultified themselves, rather than receive the testimony as competent. They had already received and recorded the evidence of Pardee Butler, testifying that since their appointment as Commissioners he had been tarred and feathered for negro stealing; but this decision they unblushingly reversed, and erased the evidence rather than be forced to put against their friends this horrible tale of the Ossawatimie murder upon the record. Besides Wilkinson, Wm. Sherman and brother, and Mr. Doyle and two sons, were proved to have been murdered at their respective homes on the same night and by the same band; one of the Doyles' also had his fingers and arms cut off before he was finally dispatched. Incredible as these things may seem, they unquestionably happened in Kansas Territory in the latter part of last month;

yet what is more incredible, but not less true, is the undeniable fact that these outrages are not, as some pretend, the mere extravagances of a few irresponsible individuals, but on the contrary are justly chargeable to the abolition party, as the legitimate fruit of their party measures and party discipline, and as naturally resulting from the public teachings, advice, and counsel of their chief men and most distinguished leaders.

The outrages above specified were preceded, and up to the present time, have been followed by others of a like character and dictated by a like settled policy on the part of our enemies to harass and frighten, by their deeds of horror, our friends from their homes in the territory. Undoubtedly this policy (a well settled party system) has dictated the notices lately given in all the disturbed districts by armed marauding bands of abolitionists, to the law and order men of their respective neighborhoods, immediately to leave the country on peril of death. Under such notices our friends about Hickory Point, and on Pottawattamie and Rock creeks have all been driven out of the territory, their stores have been robbed, their cattle driven off, their houses burned, their horses stolen, and in some cases they have been assassinated for daring to return; some too of these outrages have been perpetrated under the very nose of the United States troops, who all the while assert that all is peace and quietness, and that they will afford ample protection, without the necessity of our banding together in armed bodies for mutual defence. Among many others of our friends thus driven away, we might specify the cases of Messrs. Hargous, Jones, and Owens, of Hickory Point, whom two hundred United States troops stationed within two miles of their homes have been unable to inspire with a sense of security. Morton Bourn, a most exemplary, quiet and unoffending, man of our party, living within eight miles of Lecompton, the capital of the territory, where quite a number of troops are stationed, was lately driven from his home by a band of twenty-five armed men, who robbed him of all his guns, five saddles, three horses, the blankets from his beds, and over fifty dollars in money. The thieves gave him twenty-four hours to leave with his family, and threatened to kill him if he ever returned, saying, they intended to serve all the pro-slavery men in the neighborhood in the same way. Mr. Bourn is still out of the territory, and though anxious about his property and desirous to return, yet he dares not do so; although as often as he applies, the troops and the Governor assure him that all is quiet, and that he shall have ample protection; but he knows that unless they remain constantly about his house they cannot keep marauders and murderers away. This case is specified not for its peculiar enormity or hardships, but because it is a fair type of a large class of such cases, and because the undersigned have all the details from

Mr. Bourn himself, and know them to be strictly true, indeed one of us assisted his family in their flight the day after the robbery.

It is but too evident the troops cannot enable our friends to maintain their ground in any part of the territory where the abolition element is in the ascendant; notwithstanding, we assure our friends that, after the most diligent inquiry and attention to that point, we firmly believe that our party has a well established, decided, and increasing majority of actual settlers in the territory. This majority, however, we do not believe can be maintained unless something be done to give confidence to our friends, where they are few and weak in number. This can only be done by colonizing large settlements together, under one common head with absolute control; let, say from one to three hundred agriculturalists, mechanics, and laborers so settle together in some suitable point, to be indicated by the undersigned, or some other committee charged with the general interests of the party. This can be lawfully, safely, and efficiently done, and by this means law and order can be maintained in the territory; and we say this, too, notwithstanding we are in possession of very convincing evidence to the fact, that the abolitionists of the North intend during the coming month to introduce large numbers of their hired bands to put their treasonable pretended government into operation by force. These measures of mutual defence and future progress, however, require means, and demand aid from our friends abroad. The colonists should be subsisted a reasonable time, and each individual furnished with adequate agricultural or mechanical outfit, so there can be no want of settlers coming and remaining at the points where they are most needed. Funds are required, and for these we call upon our Southern friends—upon all having a common interest—nay, we call on all loving justice and wishing equal rights to each State and section of the Union—we call on the honest free State man, who, sick of the agitation and strife brewed by the abolitionists, desires the restoration of peace and quiet to the country. These can be restored only by restoring to the weaker and attacked section the means of future defence, in restoring the sectional equilibrium disturbed by the measures of 1850. Fanatical aggression cannot be quieted by *giving*, but it may be by *taking away* the power to effect its ends. All fair minds who have looked this question full in the face, know and admit that it is not merely a question of whether Kansas shall be a slave State or not, but a question of whether the entire South shall not become the victim of misguided philanthropy. That man or State is deceived that fondly trusts these fanatics may stop at Kansas. To use that territory as

the mere "key to the future"—the mere means of ulterior operations against the whole South—is unquestionably the settled policy of the ultra abolitionists, the head and soul of the aggression, and *whose opinions in the end must leaven and control the whole body*—the whole mass that acts with them.

The most convincing proof (if proofs were needed) of this was recently given before the Congressional Investigating Committee. Judge Mathew Walker, a Wyandott, an unimpeachable witness, and most reliable man, testified before the committee, that before the abolitionists selected Lawrence as their centre of operations, their leader, Gov. Robinson, attempted to get a foothold for them in the Wyandott reserve, near the junction of the Kansas and Missouri rivers; that in his negotiations for that purpose, Robinson finding it necessary to communicate their plans and objects, divulged to Walker (whom he then supposed a sympathiser) that the abolitionists were determined on winning Kansas at any cost; that then having Missouri surrounded on three sides, they would begin their assaults on her; and as fast as one State gave way, attack another, till the whole South was abolitionised. That this revelation was actually made the undersigned have not the slightest doubt; and we are equally confident that in that matter the abolition party was truly represented by Robinson, who has always been their chief man and acknowledge leader in Kansas.

It is widely reported, and generally believed, that the northern abolitionists are now raising large bodies of armed men, under military organization and discipline, to be surreptitiously introduced into the territory for the objects of driving out the peaceable inhabitants, setting the laws at defiance, and overwhelming the law and order party at the decisive election for a Territorial Legislature to come off on the first Monday in October next. It is not impossible they may partially succeed in their aims; their labors to inflame the northern mind are so incessant, their faculty of misrepresentation is so extraordinary—so fatally bent on mischief. Their papers, for instance, show up the Ossawatimie massacre as an outrage of our own; according to their account, "five pro-slavery men were hanging an abolitionist, when his five friends providentially came up and shot them in the act."

All have heard, through the papers, of the killing of Stewart by Cosgrove. The facts were these: Stewart being in Lawrence, when news reached there of an abolitionist having been just killed at Blanton's bridge, in the vicinity, started off with four others toward the California road, all swearing they would kill the first pro-slavery man they met. Lieutenant Cosgrove and Dr. Bratton, two quiet and worthy men of our party, happened to be passing just as Stewart and his men reached the

road. The five halted the two at the distance of only five or six paces, and to the astonishment and horror of the weaker party, immediately after halting them began snapping and firing at them. Cosgrove seeing Bratton shot through the arm, fired and killed Stewart, and then with his wounded companion escaped under a shower of bullets. The next day a Lawrence man being taken as a spy and searched, a letter was found on his person to a friend in the North, detailing Stewart's death, in which he says, Stewart was, met alone, unarmed, and without cause or excuse shot down by five border ruffians.

Indeed, it was proved before the Investigating Committee that the abolition party had travelling agents in the territory *whose duty it was to gather up, exaggerate, and report for publication*, rumors to the prejudice of the law and order party, and with the view to excite abolitionists to come to the territory; and the witness, Parrot, admitted in his examination that he, as agent, had prepared such a report, and placed it in the hands of Sherman, one of the committee, since his arrival in Kansas. Sherman was then on the committee, and did not deny it.

How can there be other than the most exasperated state of feeling between the two sections? How can civil war be avoided, when honorable committee men countenance such reckless mischief? Look the future in the face like men: if standing up to our rights, to our responsibilities, and to our trust, brings peace and security, so much the better; no other course can effect it. Send us men and means. We must have your help. Appoint agents, responsible, trusty, reliable men for every State, district, and neighborhood, whose sole business shall be to canvass for aid. Did we know suitable persons who would act, we would not hesitate to appoint them all over the country. Let our friends send their names, with details as to character and qualification, and we will duly accredit them. One gentleman, an Alabamian, Alpheus Baker, jr., Esq., of Eufaula, Alabama, whom we all know, who has been here, and has distinguished himself by the zeal, success, and signal ability with which for a while he canvassed the border counties in Missouri for aid, we take the liberty of nominating, without assurance that he will accept. We trust that he may. Friends of the cause must contribute according to their several gifts—we must not meanly abandon our birthright, and, without a struggle, yield to grasping monopoly this fairest Eden of our common domain—this land of flowing brook and fertile plain. Kansas is indeed the garden spot of America, and in every way adapted to Southern institutions; in no other part of the Union is slave labor more productive; and, in the present imperilled state of our civilization, if we do not maintain this

outpost, we cannot long defend the citadel. Then rally to the rescue.

Any communications our friends in the South may be pleased to favor the undersigned with, will reach us most safely and certainly, if directed to us, at Westport, Missouri. Funds contributed may be sent to our treasurer, A. G. Boone, Esq., directed to him at the same place.

DAVID R. ATCHISON,
WM. H. RUSSELL,
JOS. C. ANDERSON,
A. G. BOONE,
B. F. STRINGFELLOW,
J. BUFORD.

June 21st, 1856.

COTTON TRADE OF THE WORLD.

The following tables were prepared in the State Department, under the direction of Mr. Flagg. They condense material otherwise to be obtained with some labor. We give them as a useful complement to the many elaborate tables prepared or published by us during the last ten years, upon the same subject, which occupy the largest part of the first volume of our *Industrial Resources of the South and West*.

Tariff Duties and Custom-house Regulations applicable to American Cotton.

Countries.	Quantities.	Rates of Duty.
Great Britain.....		Free.
France.....	220 pounds.....	In national vessels, \$3 72; in foreign vessels, \$6 48.*
Spain.....	101 pounds.....	In national vessels, 79½ cents; in foreign vessels, \$1 85.
Russia.....	36 pounds.....	18½ cents.
Bremen.....	Ad valorem.....	½ of 1 per cent.
Sardinia.....		Free.
Belgium.....		Free.
Austria.....		Free.
Sweden and Norway.....		In Sweden, free; in Norway, nearly ½ cent per pound.
Mexico.....	101 pounds.....	\$1 50.
Hamburg.....	Ad valorem.....	½ of 1 per cent.
Holland.....		Free.
Two Sicilies.....	192.050 pounds..	\$8.
British North America.....		Free.
Denmark.....		Free.
Portugal.....	101 pounds.....	2 1-5 cents.
Tuscany.....		Free.
Papal States.....	74.86 pounds.....	10 cents.
Cuba.....	101 pounds.....	In national vessels, 19½; in foreign vessels, 27½ per ct. on a valuation of \$5.

*By the treaty of 1822 United States vessels are equalized with French vessels in the direct importation into France of articles the growth, manufacture, or produce of the United States.

Quantities of cotton exported from the United States, etc.*

	1853.	1854.	1855.	Annual average amt's of cotton 1851-55	Annual average amt's of age amounts of duties paid—1851-55.†
Great Britain.....lbs.	768,596,498	696,247,047	678,498,259	712,812,141	Free.
France.....	189,226,913	144,428,860	210,113,809	173,829,584	\$2,989,800 25
Spain.....	86,851,042	85,024,074	85,071,735	83,704,292	265,296 06
Hanse Towns.....	29,671,783	37,719,922	30,809,991	26,011,298	125,795 00
Belgium.....	15,494,442	18,980,460	12,219,553	17,087,472	Free.
Austria.....	17,968,642	14,961,144	9,761,465	16,789,767	Free.
Sardinia and Italy.....	17,487,984	12,725,830	16,087,064	14,911,110	Different rates.
Russia.....	21,286,568	2,914,954	448,897	9,044,806	47,018 86
Mexico.....	7,468,851	12,146,080	7,527,079	6,986,612	\$108,018 99
Holland.....	7,088,994	6,048,165	4,941,414	6,759,257	Free.
Sweden and Norway	6,099,517	9,212,710	8,428,487	6,968,132	Different rates.
British N. A.....	12,295	72,790	888,204	201,679	Free.
Denmark.....	435,169	82,938	309,186	142,876	Free.
Cuba.....	196,892	250,633	9,690	173,014	2,855 42
Portugal.....	87,691	121,059	144,006	90,198	19 64
Elsewhere.....	652,895	1,946,595	270,822	748,918	

To all countries.... 1,111,570,870 987,838,106 1,008,424,601 1,025,659,156

* The data for this statement are derived from the United States treasury reports, in which the commercial year closes June 30. The year in British and French official documents corresponds with that of the calendar; hence one cause of apparent discrepancies in figures, for nominally, the same years.

† The amounts of duties paid are calculated on the customs rates given in the preceding statement, (1,) although those rates, during the five years designated, have, in some instances, undergone changes. Belgium, for example, did not admit cotton free until the passage of the law of April 12, 1854.

‡ The amount is calculated on the medium of the ad valorem duty of Bremen and Hamburg, on an assumed valuation of 17 cents per pound.

§ The amount is calculated on the rates of the existing tariff of January 31, 1856, prior to which cotton was either prohibited or subjected to a duty equivalent to prohibition.

|| United States treasury reports do not give quantities to Norway distinct from those to Sweden. In the latter, cotton is free; in the former, the duty is nearly half a cent per pound.

Quantities of Cotton imported into Great Britain, &c.*

Years.	United States.	Brazil.	Egypt.†	East Indies.†	W. Indies.†	All countries.
1851—lbs....	596,638,962	19,339,104	16,950,525	122,626,976	446,529	757,879,749
1852.....	765,630,544	26,506,144	48,058,640	84,932,489	793,696	929,782,448
1853.....	658,451,796	24,190,628	28,353,574	181,848,169	344,060	895,266,780
1854.....	722,151,380	19,708,600	28,558,120	119,829,152	205,072	887,833,104
†1855.....	564,773,440	20,240,528	26,291,216	102,838,024	No data.	721,917,840
Aggregate....	3,907,646,102	109,980,004	143,007,075	612,659,744	1,699,257	4,191,679,921
Average....	661,639,220	21,996,000	28,601,415	122,411,928	\$424,839	888,335,984

* Made up from British official authorities. The commercial year in England begins January 1; in the United States, July 1; hence seeming discrepancies in figures for apparently the same periods of time.

† Egypt includes Turkey, Syria, and the Mediterranean generally; the East Indies include British India generally; the West Indies, the West India islands belonging to Great Britain, and British Guiana. ‡ Ten months, in part, from January 6 to October 31. § Four years.

Quantities of Cotton imported into France, &c.*

Years.	United States.	Elsewhere.	All countries.	Value.
1851—Pounds.....	127,418,058	19,083,961	146,402,014	\$21,204,000
1852.....	171,235,021	117,742,078	188,977,099	27,528,000
1853.....	178,608,904	19,537,722	198,146,626	28,830,000
1854.....	174,929,557	15,819,242	190,748,799	27,900,000
†1855.....				
Aggregate....	659,191,535	71,683,008	730,774,538	105,462,000
Average....	169,047,884	17,920,751	186,968,635	26,365,500

* Compiled from "Tableau General du Commerce de la France."

† Of which amount 11,973,487 pounds were from Egypt and Turkey, and 980,516 pounds from Brazil.

‡ No data.

Quantities of Cotton imported into Spain, &c.

The statistical office has no official Spanish data from which to make up the statement required.

The quantities of cotton exported from the United States to Spain, according to the United States Treasury reports, the years specified, were as follows:

	Pounds.		Pounds.
1851.....	34,272,625	1854.....	35,024,074
1852.....	29,301,928	1855.....	33,071,795
1853.....	36,851,042	Average, (5 years).....	33,704,292

From Cuba, the same years, according to "Balanzas Generales" of that island, the quantities exported to Spain were as follows:

	Pounds.		Pounds.
1851.....	13,415	1854.....	1,489
1852.....	300,225	1855.....	No data.
1853.....	138,625	Average, (4 years).....	113,438

From Porto Rico, according to official Balanzas of that island, as follows:

	Pounds.		Pounds.
1851.....	315,083	1854.....	No data.
1852.....	141,807	1855.....	No data.
1853.....	245,552	Average, (3 years).....	234,147

From Brazil, according to the "*Proposta e Relatorio*" of that empire for the years 1852-'3 and 1853-'4, the quantities of cotton exported to Spain were as follows:

1852-'53.....	2,291,578
1853-'54.....	2,351,279
Average, (2 years).....	2,321,428

Spain, according to the "*Cuadro General*" of that kingdom for 1849, imported that year, from countries of production, 26,136,881 pounds of cotton; of which quantity the United States supplied 21,669,441 pounds, Cuba 3,371,830 pounds, Brazil 832,604 pounds, Porto Rico 370,881 pounds, and Venezuela 21,316 pounds.

*Quantities of Cotton exported by Great Britain.**

Years.	Exported to all countries.	United States.	Brazil.	Egypt.	East Indies.	Elsewhere.
	Pounds.	Pounds.	Pounds.	Pounds.	Pounds.	Pounds.
1851	111,980,400	66,921,344	1,888,880	211,068	42,959,168
1852	111,875,456	69,217,190	3,619,840	194,656	88,864,672	48,168
1853	148,569,680	82,701,479	4,786,768	945,416	60,082,064	50,960
1854	125,554,800	55,101,900	1,438,192	369,600	68,645,808
1855†	102,932,480	48,647,216	714,448	363,216	58,387,600
Annual average.	120,182,568	64,481,070	2,459,625	403,879	62,791,662

* Compiled from the monthly "Accounts relating to Trade and Navigation," presented to the British Parliament, the only authority at hand from which the countries whence the cotton exported was imported could be ascertained. Results gathered from these monthly accounts sometimes vary from those given in the "Annual Statement of the Trade and Navigation of the United Kingdom," from which latter document was made up the table that follows:

† Ten months, in part, from January 6 to October 31.

Countries to which exported.	1851.	1852.	1853.	1854.	Annual average.
Russia.....	35,185,472	45,605,840	48,937,392	208,544	32,484,312
Sweden.....	2,434,656	3,591,840	4,414,368	5,866,560	4,076,856
Prussia.....	1,576,064	674,240	1,143,296	23,444,024	6,709,556
Hanse Towns.....	97,473,040	22,472,016	33,417,440	86,056,264	29,684,440
Holland.....	22,119,104	15,884,224	28,676,592	26,934,544	23,931,116
Belgium.....	12,856,480	12,657,680	18,466,672	14,040,768	14,506,400
France.....	1,365,504	2,225,440	2,403,968	2,759,232	2,188,536
Sardinia.....	2,742,320	2,238,208	3,860,864	3,821,328	3,165,680
Austria.....	1,366,064	1,967,088	3,830,288	4,811,856	2,991,324
Other countries.....	2,647,120	2,324,560	3,418,800	5,383,392	3,443,468
Total.....	100,765,924	109,561,136	148,049,680	123,926,112	122,810,688

NOTE.—No data for the year 1855.

*Quantities and declared Values of Cotton Manufactures and Yarns exported from Great Britain and from the United States.**

Years.	GREAT BRITAIN.				UNITED STATES.	
	Manufactures.		Yarns.		Manufactures.†	Yarns.†
	Quantities.	Values.	Quantities.	Values.	Values.	Values.
	<i>Yards.</i>		<i>Pounds.</i>			
1851....	1,543,161,789	\$110,346,010	143,966,106	\$33,246,010	\$7,208,945	\$37,260
1852....	1,534,256,914	108,242,290	145,478,302	33,273,275	7,697,438	34,718
1853....	1,594,592,659	119,509,700	147,539,302	34,478,265	8,746,300	22,594
1854....	1,692,977,476	116,884,300	147,128,498	33,456,935	5,486,201	49,315
1854‡....	1,551,780,256	104,492,740	131,378,169	28,645,455	5,857,181	None.

*Made up from British and United States official documents, respectively; the commercial year of the former ending December 31, and of the latter June 30.

†Quantities not ascertained.

‡Ten months, in part, from January 6 to October 31.

THE SOUTH'S SACRIFICES IN THE REVOLUTION.

From Senator Butler's admirable and eloquent speech in the Senate, we extract the following. It is a source of regret to us that *circumstances* make it sometimes necessary to notice the attacks of scandalous calumniators. Even Ulysses, of old, won the applause of all the Greeks when he threatened to "whip with severe stripes," and actually commenced the operation, Thersites, "Musical orator as thou art," just after the conclusion of his celebrated tirade against Agamemnon. Old Homer adds, that the by-standers, "though sad, heartily laughed at the orator," Iliad, Book ii. pp. 225-278.

The Senator says, that the Southern States, in consequence of slavery, betrayed, during the revolutionary war, a "shameful imbecility." I challenge him to the truth of history. There was not a battle fought south of the Potomac which was not fought by Southern troops and slave-holders, even if you choose to exclude Pennsylvania, which was at that time a slave-holding State. Muhlenberg's continental regiment was always with them, and I love to allude to it; but not a New England

squad, company, or regiment ever passed the Potomac; and yet the Senator says but for Northern aid the Southern States could not have sustained themselves.

Sir, who fought the battle of King's Mountain? It was not fought by anybody in pay. Patriots fought it, but they never received a dollar. That battle made an impression, perhaps, the most remarkable of any during the war. It turned the tide of events. Who fought the battle of Cowpens? There was none in that battle from the north of Maryland. The commander in that battle was Daniel Morgan; the hero of the day was, perhaps, John Eager Howard. Colonel Washington, commander of the cavalry, and Pickens, a citizen of South Carolina, and one of the heroes of the war, commanding the militia, and they never shrank from their duty. It has been said of the South Carolina militia during the revolutionary war, that they were only raw troops, who stood to their guns and position, whenever they were mustered into the service, and called upon to perform duty. Who fought the battle of Hobkirk's Hill? General Greene was the commander; and he afterwards became a slave-holder, and, of his own choice, lived and died in a Southern State, among friends and comrades in arms. Who fought the battle of Eutaw? Was there any New England regiment or company or squad there? Not one. That battle, the most distinguished which has ever been fought in the southern portion of the Confederacy, was fought by Southern slave-holders from Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Georgia. They were exclusively Southern troops. In the face of these facts, the Senator said the imbecility of the South, arising from slavery, was such that they could not fight their battles without aid.

Shame! I call upon the shade of Hancock and Adams to look down and reprove a degenerate son who can thus invade the very sanctuary of the history which has given them immortality.

Do you think that, sir, by this remark I reproach the troops of New England? No, sir. When Yorktown surrendered, there was not a New England regiment there; I have a list of the troops who were present. But because I say that Southern troops and those from Pennsylvania alone engaged in these distinguished battles, do I reproach the troops of Massachusetts? God forbid! They were under the command of Washington at the time when he went to Yorktown, and, as was his duty, he sent them to defend the vulnerable points of New York and Boston.

Now I will make a remark which I hope the Senate will remember: Notwithstanding their relative numbers compared with the pay list of New England, you may take the fighting days

—if you have a mind to compute it as you would labor—you may take the fighting days during which the troops of South Carolina were engaged, and in the computation the balance will be found greatly against Massachusetts. If you have a mind to draw some other test—if you wish test the question of sacrifice, and measure it by blood, South Carolina has poured out hogsheds of blood where gallons have been poured out by Massachusetts.

In proof of this I give a list of battles fought in South Carolina, and each was a bloody battle: battle of Fort Moultrie; battle of Stono; siege of Charleston; battle of Camden; battle of Hanging Rock; battle of Musgrove's Mill; battle of Blackstocks; battle of Georgetown, and the battle at Black Wings, by Marion; battle of King's Mountain; battle of Cowpens; battle of Fish Dam Ford, by Sumpter; battle at Ninety-six; battle at Fort Gilpin; battle at Fort Watson; battle at Fort Mott; battle at Hobkirk's Hill; battle of Granby; battle of Cedar Spring; battle of Hammond's Store; battle Quinby; battle of Eutaw; battle of Rocky Mount; battle of Port Royal; battle of Tulafinny; battle of Coosahatchie; battle of Waxham settlement, between Beaufort and Tarleton; battle of Cloud's Creek; battle at Hays' station; bloody battle of Kettle Creek, fought by General Pickens; battle of Houck's defeat; bloody battle of Twelve-mile Creek, in which Salvadore fell.

These were all fought in South Carolina, and in which South Carolinians were engaged, and were bloody battles. In addition there were almost daily skirmishes fought by Marion and Sumpter.

LOWER LOUISIANA—AN EARLY RECORD.

When or by whom this paper was written we know not. It is a venerable manuscript which came into our possession several years ago when collecting materials for a history of Louisiana, and contains much that is curious and interesting to a large portion of the people of the lower Mississippi.—Editor.

Perhaps in no country did a government make a more judicious purchase than did the present Administration in that of Louisiana. But, owing to want of information, respecting this interesting country, there are to be found many in the United States who deny this purchase to be a measure of sound policy, as it relates to our boundary with Spain, or that the country itself is intrinsically worth the sum contracted to be given for it. That neither of these objections are founded in truth, it would be easy for us to show; this is not, however, at present our object; we wish rather to describe a portion of Louisiana, and it is not a matter of exaggeration, when we say, that in giving a short history of the district of Atakapas, we exhibit

not only the real situation of this district, but in as much as it relates to soil, productions, climate, &c., a history of Lower Louisiana. It is necessary to state that the following account is derived from the most respectable sources, and that the greatest part of it has been collected by a person who is now a citizen of the district of Atakapas.

This district is bounded on the east by the district of La Fourche, on the north and west by the district of Opelousas, and on the south by the ocean. It forms nearly a square of ninety miles, and is throughout almost a dead level.

The district of Atakapas is admirably situated in point of navigable waters. The river Teche runs in a southeast course, through the centre of the district, to the Gulf of Mexico, it heads in the Opelousas district, is navigable to the town of Nouvelle l'Berie, 50 miles from its mouth, for vessels of 100 tons, and for 100 miles for vessels of 50 tons. It seldom rises or falls more than two feet, and in all seasons of the year it affords from 12 to 15 feet water. On this river, at or within a few leagues of its mouth, it is expected the future seat of government for this district will be situated. It runs through a fertile country, and its banks are from 15 to 20 feet above the level of the water. On the southwest side the land is generally prairie, affording a most luxuriant pasture for cattle; and on the opposite side there is most excellent timber, suitable for shipbuilding, cabinet work, and carpenter's use. A settler here has not to encounter the difficulties he is exposed to in the Western States; with a small portion of labor he may the first year raise a crop; for, to accomplish this, he has nothing more to do than cut out a sufficient quantity of rails to enclose the prairie land, the timber being on the opposite side of the river, and excellently adapted for this purpose.

The river Vermillion runs through the southern part of this district, it is not so large as the Teche, but affords navigation for vessels, batteaux, and boats of 80 tons, upwards of 40 miles from its mouth.

Besides the above rivers there are others of smaller note, and bayous innumerable, communicating with each other, and furnishing to the inhabitants of every part of this district a direct, safe, and easy communication with Orleans, and with the Gulf of Mexico. With the advantage of such internal navigation, we can, at all seasons of the year, convey our produce to market, at a small expense and little risk; and receive in return, such articles from Orleans, or from foreign countries, as are deemed essential to life.

The mineral, vegetable, and animal productions of this district next claim our attention.

Being a level country the mineral productions are not nume-

rous, at least it appears so at present; but this may be owing to the want of genius in the inhabitants, whose views are otherwise directed. I recollect no instance where there have been indications of the precious metals. On the north of this district, on Red river, there are mines of gold and silver.

On our southern boundary, adjoining the sea, on an elevated tract, large quantities of sulphur have been found, and I have been informed by a person residing on the spot, that the inhabitants set fire to part of this sulphuric matter, and that it required their greatest exertions afterwards to extinguish it, which they accomplished by digging ditches and throwing immense quantities of water on it.

There are in this district several medicinal springs, but their properties have never yet been ascertained by a skillful chemical analysis. One of these, a hot spring, is said to relieve rheumatism, and other complaints of different natures. It is probable, when the country becomes better known, more discoveries may be made respecting our mineral productions.

An imperfect account of our vegetable productions can only be given, the limits of the present work not admitting us to enter into a scientific description.

Our woods furnish the finest timber in the world; live oak, ash, mulberry, walnut, cherry, cypress, cedar, and other valuable timber are here to be had in astonishing quantities. Whatever species of timber produced in more northern climates, are to be found here, but from the quickness of its growth it is doubted by some whether it is so durable.

The produce of our plantations exceed in value that of all other countries in North America. Our staple commodities are sugar, cotton, rice, and indigo. The soil is well adapted for Indian corn, hemp, flax, and tobacco; but of these articles it is not the interest of the planter to raise more than what is necessary for the supply of his family. To show that the produce of our farms exceeds that of others in the United States we lay before our readers the following estimate of the principal staple articles. A farm containing 40 acres of cleared land well enclosed, if planted with care, produces, on an average, at the rate of 30 hhds. of sugar and 30 hhds. of rum, and the account of the planter's gain will be as follows:

30 hhds., 10 cwt. each, at \$7 per cwt., is.....	\$2,100
30 hhds., 60 galls. each, at \$40 per hhd., is.....	1,200

\$3,300

Deduct the work of 4 negroes in working the land, making the sugar and rum, at \$150 each.....	600
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Net.....	\$2,700
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Product of 40 acres or \$67 50 per acre, every expense being included in the \$600, such as maintenance of negroes, use of sugar works and rum distillery.

An acre of cotton will produce net to the planter \$50, every expense deducted.

Rice will yield clear, about \$40 per acre. Indigo upwards of \$75 per acre; but the humanity of our planters have induced them, notwithstanding the great profit, to raise but small quantities of this article, its culture being fatal to the slaves, whose lives are thereby considerably abridged. It would indeed be a measure of sound policy were the raising of indigo altogether prohibited.

Our gardens yield us, besides the esculent plants of Europe, musk melons, water melons, pumkins, &c. Our orchards, cherries, quinces, peaches, nectarines, apricots, almonds, plums, prunes, figs, oranges, lemons in great abundance, but the apple and pear do not thrive so well here as in northern climates. It is worthy of notice, that owing to the mildness of our winters, our gardens plentifully supply our table with a great variety of esculents during the whole year, and green peas, beans, sallad, &c., can be raised in our severest weather.

Our quadrupeds are similar to those in Upper Louisiana; the buffalo abound in our woods; we have also the American tiger or panther, an animal remarkable for its fierceness in attacking men and horses when pressed by hunger. We have bears, wolves, deer, elks, foxes, with an infinite variety of others. Our birds are the same with those given in Catesby's designation. Our rivers afford us the greatest variety of fish. Trout about a foot in length, of a most delicious flavor, we have in abundance. Cat fish, drum, eels, perch, with many others, are to be had in plenty in our rivers, bayous, and lakes. Alligators abound in our waters—they are from 3 to 12 feet in length—they will attack men, women, and children, but are easily driven off. Their flesh is said to be good. We have but few snakes; those of the copper color are the most venomous, and instances where their bite has in a few hours proved mortal are not wanting.

This district is situated in lat. 29° 51' N. long. 90° 3' W. from Greenwich. From our southerly situation, it will be inferred that we are oppressed with excessive heat, but this is not the fact. Our vicinity to the sea, and the refreshing breezes from it, cool the atmosphere, and we experience less from the heat than the States of Ohio and Kentucky. The winters here are mild, and snow seldom lies on the ground more than a few hours. Last winter was the severest ever experienced, and the snow then continued near a week on the ground. It was about 6 inches deep, and the ice on the edges

of the creeks about three-quarters of an inch. On the whole, this climate is as favorable to the extension of human life as any in the United States. As a proof of this, the number of old people is greater here than in the States, and if we except bilious complaints, common to all southern climates, we may be thankful to the Almighty disposer of human events for having placed us in a country where health, the greatest blessing man can enjoy on earth, is to be found with scarcely any intermission. As a further proof of the salubrity of the climate, we need only add that we have but few physicians, and that instead of paying excessive sums to the disciples of Esculapius, we go to the sea shore, and by a change of diet, and bathing in the sea, we are soon recovered from all complaints. We have but one Doctor whose practice is valuable, and he is a black man, a slave to a French store-keeper. He contracts very fairly with his patient, always engaging to remove the disorder on payment of a certain sum, which is seldom less than \$50, and often above \$100. This black quack has had the address to get into considerable business, and his annual profits are worth more than the practice of all his fellow practitioners, white or black, in this district.

The inhabitants are at present chiefly French. They are honest in their dealings, friendly and hospitable to strangers; they preserve a social intercourse among their neighbors, and are remarkable for their exactness in the performance of their contracts. They are, however, oppressive to their slaves, and this forms the only bad trait in their general character.

Our military force is still in its infancy. The military ardor is nearly dead among us; want of arms and of good military laws may be ascribed as the cause of this. Placed as we are, near the Spanish frontiers, would it not be a measure of sound policy in the Government to furnish arms for the use of the militia of this and the adjoining district?

The aboriginal inhabitants are few in number, not exceeding perhaps 60 warriors. They inhabit some of the islands near the mouth of the — river, and as their name, the Atakapas, signifies, they are man-eaters. A schooner commanded by a Captain Murphy, was lately driven on their coast, and his men seized. With nearly all his cargo, to his eternal honor, he redeemed his crew from the horrid fate which awaited them. The arms of those savages is the bow and arrow, which they throw with amazing dexterity a great distance. The arrows are barbed and poisoned, occasioning immediate death should the wound be ever so slight.

Towns we have none. The settlements on the river Teche may deserve the name of an extensive village.

Like every territorial government, our laws are very defective. In fact, where the people have no voice in the appointment of their chief magistrates, they cannot be said to enjoy that degree of freedom which so much is the boast of Americans. The colonial system which prevails in Louisiana will not continue much longer; the increase in our population will soon entitle us to the rank of one of the sister's of the American confederation. Our legislature consists of a Governor, a Council, and the House of Assembly. The House of Assembly is the choice of the people, and is generally composed of Frenchmen. It is to be regretted that the attachment of the French to the Spanish system should be so great as to induce them in framing the laws to adopt it as their model. This is an evil that cannot much longer exist, the emigration from the United States being at present considerable, and from the encouragement expected from the Government to our first settlers, we may presume the present interest will give way to the introduction of a system more congenial to the genius of the American Constitution.

Our laws are numerous, and are susceptible of much improvement. The law establishing our parish or county courts, resembles much the powers delegated by the Spanish Government to the commandants of their provinces. By that law, extensive powers, dangerous to liberty, are given to the county judge. It is, however, a happy circumstance for this district, that the gentleman now exercising that important office is not disposed to abuse his authority. Mild and unassuming, inflexibly just, a determined opposer of all impositions introduced by quibbling lawyers, Judge White on every occasion shows his beneficence and love of his country by his patriotic endeavors to assimilate the people of this district to the General Government. This remark is the more necessary, as his conduct has been misrepresented by some individuals who have vainly opposed his measures, because he wishes to render our tribunal of justice accessible to all, and that the poor man as well as the rich, without being obliged to pay to the lawyers excessive fees, may have an equal chance of justice.

From the nature of our soil, and the advantages of our situation, we may have excellent roads at a small expense. The country being so level, the roads are admirably adapted for carriages, but until we have an increase in population, we cannot expect much improvement. The want of a direct intercourse by land with the United States is felt by the whole of Louisiana, and will be an objection and hindrance to the future settlement of this country. A great road, similar to some in the State of New York, from the city of Washington to somewhere near the mouth of the Sabine, would greatly

accelerate the settlement of Louisiana. Such a road would be an undertaking worthy the present administration, and a lasting monument of its regard to the interest of the remotest members of the American empire. But the benefits resulting to Louisiana would form only part of the beneficial effects of such a plan. The States of Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, the Territories of the Mississippi, of New Orleans, of upper and lower Louisiana, would be particularly benefitted by it; the whole of the United States would soon feel the beneficial consequences of an undertaking like the present, it would establish a communication throughout the vast empire, it would strengthen and render formidable a frontier at present weak and exposed, it would be an advantage to the whole of the United States, inasmuch as it would occasion the immediate sale and settlement of a vast extent of country, which would not only immediately defray the expense of such a measure and the original purchase of Louisiana, but also enrich the public treasury many millions of dollars. In short let the subject be viewed with candor, and its effects must be pronounced beneficial to the country; like some of the stupendous works of antiquity, it will exhibit to ages yet unborn, to remote posterity, that an empire did once exist occupying an immense extent of country whose chief care was to unite its different members by every means which could be effected by man, and that its public treasure was not employed in exterminating, but in rendering the human race happy.

The Roman Catholic religion, while this country was under the dominion of Spain, was the established church here; happily for the American world, our Constitution recognizes no established church, but allows every man to worship God as he pleases. Whenever there is a religion established by law, it will become, in the hand of the government, an engine to enslave the people; history exhibits uniformly this to be the case. The Catholic religion prevails here.

TOBACCO AND TOBACCO STATISTICS.

BY LOUIS SCHADE.

Tobacco is next to salt, probably the article most universally consumed by men. In one form or another, but most generally in the form of fume or smoke, there is no climate in which it is not consumed, and no nationality which has not adopted it. To put down its use has equally baffled legislators and moralists; and in the words of Pope on a higher subject, it may be said to be partaken of "by saint, by savage, and by sage." The

civilized European and American nations are the smallest consumers of tobacco of any people, in consequence of its being everywhere with them an object of heavy taxation, of its being very generally a foreign commodity or high priced, because raised in uncongenial climates, and finally its being, for the most part, confined in use to the male sex.

The duty on the importation of *raw Tobacco* amounts—

In the United States to.....	30	per cent. ad valorem.
In Belgium.....	13.9	do.
In Great Britain.....	933.3	do.
In Hanover.....	9.6	do.
In Holtsein.....	10	do.
In Holland.....	3.5	do.
In Russia.....	161	do.
In Switzerland.....	8	do.
In Zollverein.....	45	do.
(German custom Union.)		

FRANCE.—In 1629 the first duties on the tobacco trade were levied. In 1674 Louis XIV. established the first monopoly in Europe. The cultivation of tobacco is prohibited except in six departments. From 1811 to 1852 there were sold by the Government 1,308,838,075 pounds, which brought a clear revenue of \$432,233,434. The expenses of the administration were 24 per cent. ad valorem.

SPAIN.—The gross receipts from the tobacco monopoly in the years 1830-'4 were \$4,950,121, and the net receipts \$3,097,147. The sold tobacco amounted to 2.4 pounds per head of the population. The nett receipts of 1851 were \$3,100,000. The expenses of the administration amounted to 40 per cent. of the total value.

AUSTRIA.—The monopoly exists since 1784. The gain of the Government amounts to 76 per cent. ad valorem. The nett receipts amounted in 1851 to \$8,739,421, and in 1853 to \$10,619,106. The consumption in the whole Empire was, in 1850, 34,457,513 pounds; 1851, 54,217,578 pounds; in 1852, 61,805,697 pounds; 1853, 57,926,925 lbs; in 1854, 62,020,333 pounds.

ZOLLVEREIN.—The duty on raw tobacco is \$2.76 per 110 pounds, which, if re-exported, enjoys a draw back of \$2.20 per 110 pounds. Tobacco grown within the limits of the Customs Union pays only 46 cents for the same quantity. The revenues which the Government herefrom derives amounts to 38 per cent. on the value.

GREAT BRITAIN.—The consumption of tobacco in the United Kingdom was—

Years.	Consumption.	Revenue.	Population.	Cons'n per head.
	Pounds.	£		Ounces.
1821.....	16,598,153	3,122,583	21,282,960	11.71
1831.....	19,533,841	2,964,592	24,410,439	12.80
1841.....	22,309,360*	3,580,163	27,019,672	13.21
1851.....	28,062,978*	4,485,769	27,452,262	16.86

In 1853 the duty amounted to £4,751,780, or \$23,000,000.
The following table will be of general interest.

	Average consumption per head of male population over 18 y'rs of age.	Net revenue from tobacco.	Per head of the po- pulation.
	Pounds.	Dollars.	Cents.
Austria.....	6.75	6,062,650	26 1-3
Zollverein.....	9.75	1,482,800	5 1-2
Steuerverein, (Hanover and Oldenburg, now added to former)	12.50	62,100	3 1-20
France.....	5.50	15,291,780	43
Russia.....	2.50	1,421,400	2 1-3
Portugal.....	3.50	1,520,700	46 2-3
Spain.....	4.75	6,340,410	48 2-5
Sardinia.....	2.75	1,230,960	27 1-4
Tuscany.....	2.50	424,350	24 9-10
Papal States.....	2.00	1,486,260	50 2 5
Two Sicilies.....	842,110	7 1-2
England.....	4.10	21,735,000	78 4-5
Holland.....	8.25	31,050	1
Belgium.....	9.00	140,070	3 1-5
Denmark.....	8.00	52,440	2 1-3
Sweden.....	4.37	73,830	2 1-3
Norwegen.....	6.40	116,610	4 1-3
United States.†.....	7.60

* With an additional 5 per cent. on the duty.

† Hypothetically.

REORGANIZATION OF SOUTHERN SOCIETY.

An intelligent planter in Alabama, whose name we are not at liberty to divulge, writes as follows to the Editor of the Review. The charges which he alleges against our society at the present day, contain, perhaps, some show of truth; but the evil is not deep seated. Night's dews and damps have been fast passing away, and morning's bright light now shines over the South. Thank God every slumberer is awake, and with armor on. Stern necessity brings us all together. The spirit of party dies. In this awakening, and in the consciousness of strength which it brings, there is for the South safety and hope—

"Malice domestic—foreign levy, nothing
Can touch her further."

No careful observer of Southern society can be misled in regard to its tendency to classification—agricultural, commercial,

and political; the commercial and agricultural interest undoubtedly combine the real capacity of the South—in other words, the energy of the South is employed in money-getting. Politics, State and Federal, are left to the politicians, and will be until *interest*, the great motive power to human action, compels a different result; perhaps we may be induced to loose our grasp at the almighty dollar time enough to make a *show of effort* to save the ship of state from the storm cloud of abolition that hangs so portentously about us; but really I don't know, there is an opiate in this money-getting, a charm that holds us spell-bound to the delusion; we hope for peace that we may make money; we seek it home and abroad, with friend and foe, that we may make money; give us this *privilege, this glorious, savory mess*, and I fear that the very birth-right of the South may be had in exchange.

Suppose we pass the crisis to which the free soil interest is so rapidly driving us happily—suppose the Constitution and South come off victors in this contest; does not every body see that the constitutional abiding sections of the *North* will have had as much to do in securing defeat to the freesoil object as any action taken by the South; and will this not throw us into ecstasies of joy and glory to the Union, and renew our hardly slackened grasp after the dollar? Conscious security, though indefinite, from this threatening danger, cannot fail to renew effectually the struggle for money-getting in the South, and relax our interest particularly in State legislation; and thus the struggles, which we so much deprecate, will be entailed on us and our posterity, if this contest is to be settled by politicians—for, of all the daubers, they are the poorest. The remedy for these sectional differences cannot be in the temporary and superficial settlements made by Congress; but there certainly is a remedy for the South, in her own resources, and none other can be permanent.

Our class-ship carries with it inherent difficulties, one of which is disintegration of feeling and interest, growing out of the nature of our respective pursuits; there is no people who need so much as the Southern States a homogeneous influence, a community of feeling and interest. Europe finds her's in her aristocracy, around which the whole fabric, political and social, revolve as the interest of the state directs; the Northern States of this Union find their's in the diversity of pursuits bearing directly each on the other; the South must have the same, or be subjected ever to those distracting influences which have been, and still are, our national besetment.

The railroad, the school house at home, and the State universities, may do much to effect this; direct trade with Europe, and manufacturing and mining, certainly have important func-

tions to perform in this new organization of Southern society. But how and where is all this to be done? An Augean stable presents itself, but where the Hercules? Your paper has done much for the South in this respect; urge us forward; urge us with all your might; recollect our apathy and aversion to change. Oh! how we beg to be let alone; like the freezing man, we will, if not aroused, sleep the sleep of death.

The above views of Southern interest induced me to become a subscriber to your paper. I have realized in it, and so with all earnest readers, much of what I expected; and shall be happy to remain on your list as a subscriber while we continue to sympathise with *true* Southern interest.

SENATOR BENJAMIN UPON THE PRESENT SECTIONAL STRUGGLE.

The able and eloquent Senator from Louisiana, in a speech recently made in the Senate, uses the following bold language. Mr. Cass spoke of the argument as "magnificent and patriotic, which ought to find a response in the bosom of every true American."

The object is to attain such power as shall put these parties in possession of sufficient representation, in both branches of Congress, to change the Federal Constitution, and to deprive the South of that representation which is already inadequate to protect her rights. When that shall have been done—when she is reduced to a feeble minority, utterly incompetent to move hand or foot, and bound subserviently to the will of the North—then will the last act of the drama be played; and then will the abolition sentiments which they hide now, but which they entertain in their heart of hearts, be developed to the country, and ruin and desolation spread over fifteen of the States of this Union. That is the object—disguised, concealed, but transparent through the flimsy veil by which they attempt to conceal their nefarious purposes.

Now, Mr. President, this being the sole motive for which the North is struggling—the acquisition of power—will the Senate permit me to be so far wanting in respect for its intelligence as to say a few words in comparison of the interests which the South holds in this stake? Property, safety, honor—existence itself—depend on the decision of the questions which are now pending in this Congress: property, for \$2,000,000,000 cannot purchase, at a low average price, the slaves which now belong to the people of the South, whilst no human calculation can reach the estimate of the destruction of other property which would necessarily be involved in any measure which should deprive us of our slaves; safety, because our population, now kept in proper subjection, peaceful and laborious, would be converted into an idle, reckless,

criminal population, eager for rapine and murder, led on to their foul purposes by inflamed passions—passions inflamed by fanatical emissaries from another portion of a common country, who formed a common government to cherish brotherly feelings; honor, because we should be degraded from our position of free, sovereign, self-dependent States, into a servile subserviency to Northern will: existence—ay, existence itself—because the history of Hayti is written in characters so black, so dark, so prominent, that we cannot be ignorant of the fate that awaits us, if measures similar to those which have produced that result there are also to be inaugurated in our Southern States.

Now, Mr. President, when we see these two interests contrasted—the North struggling for the possession of a power to which she has no legitimate claim under the Constitution, for the sole purpose of abusing that power—the South struggling for property, honor, safety—all that is dear to man—tell me if the history of the world exhibits an example of a people occupying a more ennobling attitude than the people of the South? To vituperation they oppose calm reason. To menaces and threats of violence, and insulting assumptions of superiority, they disdain reply. To direct attacks on their rights or their honor, they appeal to the guarantees of the Constitution; and when those guarantees shall fail, and not till then, will the injured, outraged South throw her sword into the scale of her rights, and appeal to the God of battles to do her justice. I say her sword, because I am not one of those who believe in the possibility of a peaceful disruption of the Union. It cannot come until every possible means of conciliation have been exhausted; it cannot come until every angry passion shall have been roused; it cannot come until brotherly feeling shall have been converted into deadly hate; and then, sir, with feelings embittered by the consciousness of injustice, or passions high-wrought and inflamed, dreadful will be the internecine war that must ensue.

Mr. President, amongst what I consider to be the most prominent dangers that now exist is the fact that the leaders of the republican party at the North have succeeded in persuading the masses of the North that there is no danger. They have finally so wrought upon the opinion of their own people at home by the constant iteration of the same false statements and the same false principles, that the people of the North cannot be made to believe that the South is in earnest, notwithstanding its calm and resolute determination which produces the quiet so ominous of evil if ever the clouds shall burst. The people of the North are taught to laugh at the danger of dissolution. One honorable Senator is reported to have said, with

exquisite amenity, that the South could not be kicked out of the Union. The honorable Senator from New York says:

"The slaveholders, in spite of all their threats, are bound to it by the same bonds, and they are bound to it also by a bond *peculiarly their own—that of dependence on it for their own safety. Three millions of slaves are a hostile force constantly in their presence, in their very midst.* The servile war is always the most fearful form of war. *The world without sympathizes with the servile enemy.* Against that war the American Union is the only defence of the slaveholders—their *only* protection. If ever they shall, in a season of madness, recede from the Union, and provoke that war, they will—soon come back again."

The honorable Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. WILSON] indulges in the repetition of a figure of rhetoric that seems peculiarly to please his ear and tickle his fancy. He represents the southern mother as clasping her infant with convulsive and closer embrace because the black avenger, with uplifted dagger, would be at the door, and he tells us that is a bond of union which we dare not violate.

The South has no answer to make to these taunts—to these insults. But I tell honorable senators that they are totally mistaken if they suppose for one moment that the condition of the South, as regards its slave property, would not be vastly ameliorated by this very separation of which they speak so glibly.

Sir, it was said the other day by my friend from Missouri, [Mr. GEYER,] that there existed more comity between any two foreign nations now on the face of the earth than there exists on the part of the northern States towards the South. Why is this? It is because it does not cost the North one cent; it is because the North makes no sacrifice; it is because, disregarding the obligations of the Constitution and treading them under foot, she dares to attack the honor and the interests of the South, which are protected by the provisions of that Constitution, whilst the South, loyal to her duties and to her faith, is bound hand and foot by the same Constitution, and prevented from making reprisals or evincing resentment.

But, sir, suppose these bonds were to fail for a moment—suppose this common compact once repudiated by all—think you that the North would be found pursuing this warfare upon the South? Think you that she would not be compelled immediately to ask us to accept treaties of extradition for our fugitives slaves? Think you she would not come and tender such treaties to us, and pass laws forbidding our slaves crossing their frontiers? Let me not be misunderstood. I am not here to

pretend for a moment that the South is equal in population or military strength with the North. I do not refer to that at all. I speak of that compulsion which would be exercised upon the North by a regard to its own interests, by the necessity of avoiding the destruction of large commercial and manufacturing properties at the North.

Why, sir, if the people of New England had to pay a tax for every word they utter with a view of aggression upon the South, how many words would they utter? But that would be the case if there was a disruption. We should be compelled in self-defence to wage a continual unremitting war in which no sacrifice would be too costly, because we should be bound to it by all the bonds of which gentlemen have spoken; we never could abandon such a warfare, because our very safety and existence would be at stake. What would be the interests of the North? Would she pay tax after tax? Would she meet the expense of a dreadful war, continued through a long series of years, for the pleasure of exercising her philanthropic propensities in receiving some fugitive slaves? Not at all, sir. Those are ignorant of human nature who believe such a thing to be possible. Therefore it is idle to talk to us about the risks we run in regard to our particular institution that would result from a disruption of the Union.

THE PACIFIC RAILROAD.

Several months ago a digest appeared in our pages of the results of the Pacific Railroad surveys ordered by Congress. Lately Capt. Humphreys has addressed a supplementary paper to Col. Davis, Secretary of War, which embraces new material, and corrects in important particulars, some of the statistics already given. We extract as follows:

Among the most important changes that the revision has introduced, may be mentioned the reduction of the length of the route, which from Fort Smith to San Pedro is now 1,760 miles, and from Fort Smith to San Francisco, direct from the Mojave river by the Tay-ee-chay-pah Pass, avoiding the tunnel of the Cajon Pass, it is 2,025 miles. In the preliminary report the distances were measured upon the wagon trail; those now given are along the plotted railroad line. Many of the difficulties of construction previously reported may now be obviated; and there is strong probability of improving the route still further, by shortening distance and avoiding costly construction. A scrutiny of the barometrical observations though Campbell's Pass of the Sierra Madre, about twenty miles north of the Camino del Obispo, shows that that mountain chain may be crossed without a tunnel or excavation at the summit, with a maximum grade of 40 feet to the mile, at an elevation

of 6,952 feet above the sea. By the Camino del Obispo, the old route, elevation 8,250 feet, a tunnel three quarters of a mile long, at an elevation of 8,000 feet, was required.

The elevations of several of the passes have been materially reduced; and the data are now provided for an actual computation of the excavation, embankment, and cost of construction of the proposed route.

As this computation necessarily involves much tedious labor, it has not yet been made, and in the mean time Captain Whipple has submitted an estimate similar to those of the other routes, in order to exhibit more correctly the comparative practicability of this, than was done in the preliminary report. It is based upon the facts developed by a careful study of the observations made, and the material collected in the field, and it is believed by him that the amount will be much diminished when the results of the computation are arrived at. The cost of construction, as given in the preliminary report, was greatly exaggerated, the estimates having been formed without reference to the field-notes. In the examination which, by your direction, I made of that report, the estimates were thought by me to be largely in excess. They were—

From Fort Smith to San Pedro, distance 1,892 miles.....	\$169,210,265 00
From Fort Smith to San Francisco, the road leaving the Mojave river 34 miles from the east entrance of Cajon Pass, and crossing the Tay-ee-chay-pah Pass, (the estimate from the Mojave river to San Francisco, a distance of 406 miles, having been made by me) distance 2,174 miles.....	175,877,265 00
These would now become—	
From Fort Smith to San Pedro, distance 1,760 miles,.....	86,130,000 00
From Fort Smith to San Francisco, crossing direct from the Mojave river to the Tay-ee-chay-pah Pass, distance 2,025 miles.....	94,720,000 00

SOUTHERN RAILROAD CONVENTION.

The Richmond papers contain full reports of the proceedings of the Southern Railroad Association which assembled at Ashland, Virginia, on Tuesday. The following are the most important items:

The President, as chairman of the committee on Sunday mails, reported. He stated that the Postmaster General had

consented to permit those companies that desired it, to miss one mail on Sunday, if the other was carried regular.

A committee of three was appointed to urge upon the officers of railroads, north of Weldon, North Carolina, the re-establishment of the second Sunday trains.

The following motion was adopted:—

Resolved, That the committee be instructed to inquire into the propriety of fixing a through fast mail and passenger schedule from Montgomery to Washington, at a speed of about 20 miles per hour, with no unnecessary detentions—the second train to be run as an accommodation train, but to make as close connections as possible.

The committee on fixing the price of a through tickets between Washington and New Orleans, reduced the price to \$48. The former price was \$53. The report of the committee was adopted.

On motion, the Association adjourned until the Thursday after the first Monday in May next, at Augusta, Georgia.

On Tuesday evening the members of the Convention were entertained at a supper giving by the citizens of Richmond.

IMPROVEMENT IN SUGAR MACHINERY.

Mr. F. D. Richardson, of St. Mary's, Louisiana, has patented a process for drawing off Sugar from the kettles which is attracting much attention in that State. His own crop of 250 hogsheads was taken off by this means. The work is done cleaner, quicker and cheaper. It consists simply in emptying the "battery" by means of a pipe instead of using a bucket. The pipe is rivetted on to the bottom of the kettle, and penetrating the wall, inclosed by a stop valve, which, when the sugar is sufficiently cooked, is raised by hand, and the kettle emptied in a much shorter time than can be done in the old way.

EDITORIAL NOTICES—BOOKS, ETC.

Rise and Progress of the English Constitution, by E. S. Creasy, A. M.; Professor of History in University College, London; third edition. New York; D. Appleton & Co. 1856. A popular work upon the English Constitution supplies a *deside atum*. Consecrated by time, perfected by political wisdom the English Constitution is one of the noblest fabrics ever devised. Our fathers searched it for those great principles which underlie our own institutions, and their children should preserve it as a sacred inheritance. Amid all the storms of revolution the English Constitution stands unbroken.

Philosophy of the Weather and a guide to its changes, by T. B. Butler.

D. Appleton & Co. Meteorology may almost be said to be a new science, though its range is a wide one and its phenomena touch every class. Through the labors of the Smithsonian, Patent Office, and the Observatory, the Federal Government is contributing the most abundant and valuable material. The reports of the War Department, of Lieut. Maury, and Mr. Blodgett do honor to the nation—as do also the contributions of Dr. Barton, of New Orleans. The volume before us is one of popular use, in which the author proposes to unfold the subject in a manner which shall be suited to the comprehension of the masses who have an equal interest in it with the scientific.

The Modern Story Teller, or the Best Stories of the best authors; New York; E. P. Putnam & Co. 1856. The Stories are from the English classics and are such as suit the leisure of the traveller, the home circle, or the family library.

Life, explorations, and Public Services of J. Chas. Fremont, by C. W. Upham, with illustrations. Boston; Ticknor & Fields. 1856. By this work it seems that Mr. Fremont was born at Savannah, Georgia. The author mentions his mother, but says nothing of the father, who was a Frenchman. In the field, where Mr. Fremont's labors have been chiefly exercised, he undoubtedly earned laurels. He has been willing to sacrifice them all in turning traitor to the institutions under which he was reared, and to the people whose support and encouragement first brought him out of the depths of obscurity. Better, far better, he will yet live to find, that honorable obscurity than what he is likely to gain.

Lectures read before the Seniors in Harvard College, by E. T. Channing. Boston; Ticknor & Fields. 1856. This little volume contains a series of Essays on literary topics prepared by Mr. Channing, during his later days, out of his course of lectures on English Literature, and is well worth the attention of every scholar. Mr. Dana contributes an interesting biographical sketch.

Hertha: a new novel, by Miss Bremer, translated by Mary Howitt. New York; G. P. Putnam & Co. 1856. The volume is "dedicated to the blessed memory of A. J. Downing." The author exhibits woman in Sweden with reference to the laws and social customs, and makes a very interesting series of chapters.

Life Sketches from Common Paths: a Series of American Tales, by Mrs. J. L. Dumont. New York; D. Appleton & Co. 1856. The author seeks to awaken whatever of higher impulse might slumber in the undeveloped nature, and to invest with their true sanctity the bonds of friendship.

Perversion; or the causes and consequences of Infidelity, by Rev. W. J. Conybeare, A. M. New York; Miles & Halstead. 1856. The causes of Infidelity are different in different characters; its consequences are nearly the same in all. In the deliberately wicked, it originates in a depraved will, eager to cast off moral restraint. In

better natures, it is occasioned sometimes by the inconsistency, extravagance, or hypocrisy of those who call themselves christians; sometimes by the doubts of a sceptical understanding, and the difficulties inherent in the substance or the documents of the Christian Revelation. The consequences which result from Infidelity are moral deterioration, and the loss of happiness and peace. To illustrate these truths is the object of the work.

Memorials of his Time, by Henry Cockburn. New York; D. Appleton & Co. 1856. The materials of this volume Lord Cockburn was a long time in collecting. He says (in 1840), "it occurred to me several years ago as a pity that no private account should be preserved of the distinguished men or the important events that had marked the progress of Scotland, or at least of Edinburgh, during my day. In 1821 I began to recollect and to inquire."

Sidney Smith's Wit and Wisdom; being selections from his writings, by E. A. Duykinck. New York; Redfield. 1856. The English edition of Sidney Smith embraces eight volumes octavo: Mr. Duykinck has performed his part with much discrimination and ability in selecting from this immense accumulation. The letters on American Debts, and Table Talk, constitute an interesting chapter of the present volume.

The Prince of the house of David, or three years in the Holy City; edited by Prof. Ingraham of Mobile, Ala.; 1856. The work is from the publishing house of Putney & Russell, New York; and is issued in the finest style of typography and binding. Many and even large editions have been rapidly sold. A writer before us says of the volume: In a series of letters, supposed to have been written by a Jewish maiden, whilst on a protracted visit to Jerusalem, to her father, resident in Alexandria, during the closing year of our Saviour's mission to the earth, the Reverend author has told a story which, I venture to say, from its force and beauty and simple pathos and eloquence must touch the hearts of all who peruse it, and arouse in them a renewed interest in the precepts and calls of Him who died and suffered such wondrous things for their sake.

The description of the last terrible events in the earthly sojourn of the blessed Saviour is wonderfully graphic, most irresistibly touching.

Margaret Maitland, of Sunnyside, by Mrs. Oliphant, author of Zaidée. New York: S. P. Putnam & Co. 1856. We have already referred to these passages in the life of Margaret Maitland.

An Essay on Liberty and Slavery, by Albert Taylor Bledsoe, of Virginia. Philadelphia: Lippencott & Co. 1856. An elaborate review of this able and admirable volume will be found in the present number of the Review.

Cyclopedia of American Literature, embracing personal and critical notices of authors and selections from their writings from the earliest periods, with portraits, autographs, etc., by E. and G. L. Duykinck. New York: Chas. Scribner. 1856. It may be truly said that no American library could be fully complete without this admirable work, which is published in two royal octavo volumes, almost exactly in the style and manner of Chambers' Encyclopedia of English Literature. Two or three

months ago, we referred to the work and extracted from it the biography of Mr. Simma, and we there said what further examination proves, that no work has yet done equal justice to the writers and literature of the South. It is a noble contribution.

North British Review, May, 1856. From Leonard, Scott & Co. Republication: Articles marked with usual ability.

Honduras Inter Oceanic Railway; Report, by E. G. Squier.

Annals of British Legislation; Edited by Prof. Leone Levi; London; Messrs. Wiley & Halstead, New York, are the agents for this work. It is a serial pamphlet, and will present in a short compass all the valuable matters brought before parliament annually. It is exactly such a work as our political economists and intelligent merchants much want. (Other books received too late for this number.)

ADVERTISING SHEETS OF THE REVIEW.

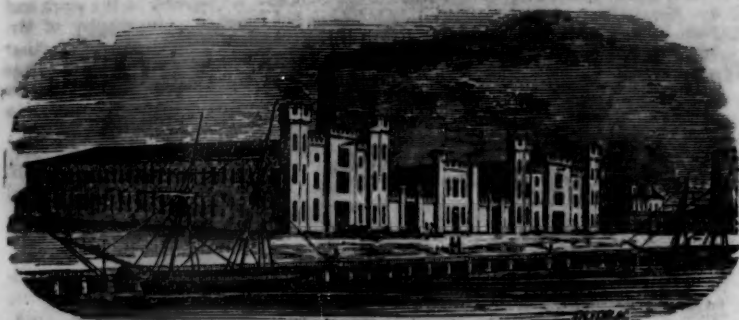
Considering the heavy circulation of the Review throughout the South and West, we have been very remiss in our attentions to the advertising department. To most other publications it is a source of large revenue, whilst to us it has brought little or nothing. Profits upon mere circulation are very small when the expenses of an office, and of collections, and the large per cent. of losses are taken into account.

Necessity, therefore, compels our attention to this department, upon which hereafter great care will be expended. The rates will be moderate, and the modes of display such as shall be neat and attractive.

In the present number will be found several pages devoted to New Orleans and to Baltimore, with a few scattering ones for other points. Will not all of the other Southern cities, Charleston, Savannah, Mobile, Richmond, etc., etc., respond in like spirit? It would suit us far better to confine our pages to Southern advertisers if a sufficiency can be found.

About two pages are given to New York, to which others will be added. As it is inevitable that we must trade out of our own limits, the South should know who are the men in the free States that adhere to the Compromises of the Constitution, and refuse to devote their time or their means to the unholy crusade which is waged there against our rights and institutions. No advertisement has been or will be taken except from such men, and the agents of the Review are instructed accordingly. In every case a knowledge of this fact is brought home by the agent to the party advertising.

It has always struck us as remarkable that Southern planters should not use the Review for advertising estates to be sold or purchased, as our rates are as low as they can be made, and the work is read by the interested class in every section of the South. It would not interfere with their use also of the local journals.



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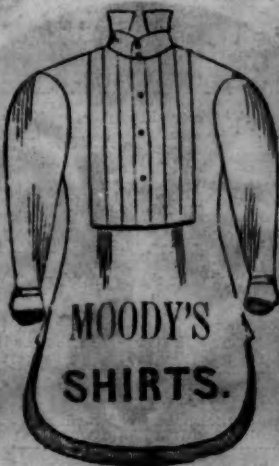
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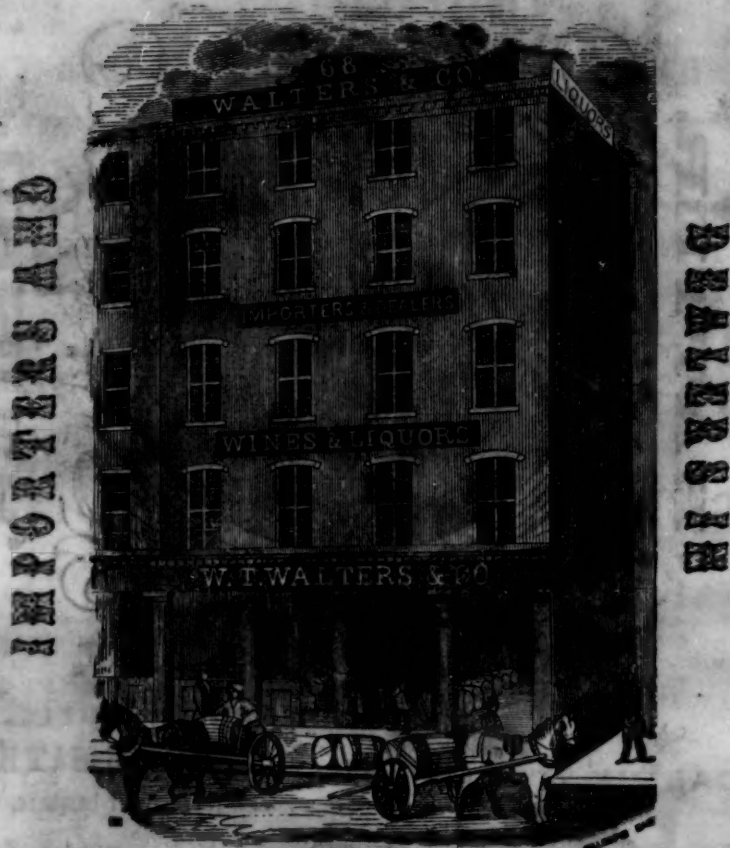
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North Carolina.—January, 1856—T. W. Bradburn, \$10.—To July, 1857—Dietrich Society.

New York.—To July, 1856—Fanny Freeman, \$12 50; Life Insurance Company, \$10.—To July, 1857—J. H. Hovers, Cronin, Marshall & Sons, Henry, Smith & Townsend, Agents, G. F. Fennan, \$25; Wiley & Halstead, \$20; B. Appleton, \$10.

South Carolina.—To July, 1857—George Anderson, W. Fulton.

Texas.—To January, 1857—G. F. Wharton, D. R. Kitchel.

Virginia.—To July, 1856—W. T. Smith.—To January, 1857—A. W. Millington.—To July, 1857—Malino & Sublet.

England.—London—Trevelan & Co., \$110 31.

LAW AND AGENCY NOTICE.

The undersigned has returned to the practice of his profession at Washington City and New Orleans.

Business at Washington in the Supreme Court, Court of Claims, or in any of the Bureau or Departments of the Government—Land, Pension, and Patent Offices—will be attended to by himself. Business at New Orleans will receive the attention of his law associate, V. H. Ivy, Esq., of that city, and also of himself during a portion of the year.

WASHINGTON, August, 1856.

J. B. DE BOW.